



BOLIVAR

A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

By
WILLIAM WARREN SWEET
The University of Chicago

REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION
WITH MAPS

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CANCELLED

TO THE MEMORY OF MY SISTER
MRS. BERTHA SWEET BALTZELL,
1877-1918

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED, WITH LOVE
AND GRATITUDE

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PREFACE TO THE ENLARGED EDITION

ORIGINALLY the plan of this book grew out of the necessity of presenting a great mass of new historical facts to rather young college students, in a comparatively short period of time. To do this successfully it was thought necessary to make the presentation simple and brief, and accordingly Spanish and Portuguese names and phrases were omitted wherever possible. It was also thought to be a better plan to confine the reading references, at the end of each chapter, to easily obtainable books rather than to give a more complete bibliography which would include books practically unobtainable. For this reason, also, with few exceptions, only books in English have been cited.

Since the publication of the first edition the literature on Latin American history and affairs has been greatly enlarged. The Great War wrought many changes, political, economic, and social, in the Latin American republics. More recently events of outstanding importance have transpired in the several Latin American States which make a fuller treatment of their history necessary. The author also has had the privilege recently of an extended tour through South America and Central America, and has thereby gained an added understanding of some of their present-day problems and general situations.

A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE BACKGROUND

JUST as the history of the United States begins in Europe, and especially in England, so also the history of Latin America begins in the Old World, and especially in Spain and Portugal. It would be quite impossible to understand the people and institutions of Central and South America if we did not know something of the conditions prevailing in the Iberian peninsula when Columbus made his first voyage of discovery and planted the first Latin colony in the New World. Accordingly, we shall try, in this chapter, to understand the chief characteristics of the Spanish and Portuguese people, and to explain how these characteristics were the result of the peculiar conditions and history of the Iberian peninsula.

The Spanish and Portuguese peoples have been greatly influenced by the geography of the Iberian peninsula. The very fact that the peninsula is almost surrounded by water, washed by the Mediterranean on the east and south, and by the Atlantic on the west and north, made maritime interest natural for the peoples dwelling there, while the lofty Pyrenees have served as barriers, isolating them from contact with other Europeans. The outstanding geographic characteristics of the country are the numerous mountain ranges, generally running east and west, which form the valleys of the chief Spanish and Portuguese rivers and divide the country into four more or less distinct physiographic districts. These districts differ in climate and resources. The principal rivers,

The Peculiar
Geography of the
Iberian Peninsula and
Its Historic
Importance

the Douro, the Tagus, the Guadalquivir,
and the Guadiana, flowing into the Atlantic,
and the Ebro, the Guadalaviar, and the
Segura, flowing into the Mediterranean, being

largely unnavigable streams, have served as barriers rather than highways, thus the geography of the country has been responsible for separating the people into distinct groups,

speaking different dialects, and with differing interests and outlook. Such conditions rendered the development of a fixed national type impossible, and it has been declared that there is in the true sense no "Spanish race." These sectional and regional characteristics, so pronounced in Spain, have extended to the New World and may be noted even in our own day.

At the beginning of Latin colonization in the New World certain characteristics had become definitely fixed in the Spanish and Portuguese character, and the marks of these peculiarities may be clearly traced in the Latin American of to-day. These characteristics may be classified as follows: (1) The people of the Iberian peninsula are the product of the mixing of races. In fact, they are the most mixed race in Europe. Into the Spanish peninsula has come wave after wave of conquest, one set of conquests sweeping down from the north and west, while another has come up from Africa and the east. (2) They are the most Oriental of all the European peoples, made so by the free mixing of the blood of the Jews and the Moors with that of the Spanish race, especially during the early mediæval period. Thus we must not think of the

**The Peculiar
Characteristics of the
Spanish and
Portuguese**

Spaniard and the Portuguese as we would think of the Frenchman or the Englishman, as being pure Europeans, with purely European traits, but we must think of them as at least partly Oriental. (3) At the close of the fifteenth century the Spaniard had developed a degree of intolerance beyond that of any other European people. This was due to the fact that during the long period of six hundred years the Christian states of the peninsula were engaged in a bitter struggle with the followers of Mohammed, who had conquered the southern part of their country in the early part of the eighth century, and were not finally overcome until the very year Columbus set sail upon his first voyage. (4) This long struggle against the Moors in Spain tended to create but two chief interests among the people—war and religion; and these two interests dominated the whole life of the people. (5) Lastly, due to intolerance of other faiths, the industrial classes, the Jews and

the Moors, were driven out of the country, and as the Spaniards were not producers of wealth, the country was reduced to a deplorable economic condition, just at the time the New World was opening up to Europeans.

The oldest inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula were called Iberians. In the course of time other peoples, supposed to be of Celtic origin, mingled with the original inhabitants. By the third century B. C. there were several distinct tribes, each having its own language and customs. Among these tribes were the Asturians in the northwest, the Cantabrians to the east, while in the north-central portion were the Basques, supposed to represent the original Iberians. The Galicians occupied the seacoasts to the extreme northwest and the Lusitanians dwelt in what is now Portugal. Thus we see from earliest

times there were several different peoples inhabiting what is now Spain and Portugal. These people were in a semibarbaric state, though there are traditions and numerous stories which tell of trade with the Phœnicians, and we have definite knowledge that the latter, pioneers of commerce in the ancient world, established a brisk trade in the precious metals with the Iberians.

The first people to establish a colony in Spain were the Greeks, who, following the example of the Phœnicians, opened up trade, and later established colonies along the southern coast. The Carthaginians, however, were the first to attempt a conquest of the country. The invasion was effected by Hamilcar Barca (B. C. 241-218), who saw in the Spanish silver mines the means of carrying on the struggle with Rome, and in the people a hardy soldiery, "that would match even the legions of Rome." After nine years of hard fighting a large part of the peninsula was conquered and brought under the dominion of Carthage.

**The Carthaginian
Conquest of Spain**

When Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar Barca, took command of the forces of Carthage he had at his command the men and money his father had secured through the Spanish conquest. In the second Punic war, however, Publius Scipio destroyed the Carthaginian power in Spain, and from

B. C. 202 for a period of six hundred years Spain was a part of the Roman Empire.

In many respects the Roman conquest of Spain was the most important of all the invasions of that country, for to it Spain and Portugal owe the basis of their language. Under republican Rome, Spain was divided into two provinces, called Hither and Farther Spain. This was a period of much disturbance, for the rule of the Roman officials was so corrupt that the tribes revolted, and it was not until B. C. 113 that most of the country was subdued and a settled government established. After this the Romanization of the country progressed rapidly. Dis-

The Roman Conquest,
B. C. 202—A. D. 418

banded Roman soldiers were sent as colonizers; Roman legionaries, quartered in Spain, married Spanish wives, and when relieved from duty settled down as permanent inhabitants; cities on the Roman model were built, and in the course of time Spain became the most completely Romanized of all the Roman provinces. Under the empire Spain was redivided into three provinces, Tarraconensis in the southern part, Baetica to the north, and Lusitania on the extreme west. The resources of the country were developed as never before and a literature sprang up which represented the best Latin literature of the period, Seneca being the chief literary star of Spain. It is interesting in this connection to note that the chief Latin writers, who follow the group of the Augustan period, mostly hailed from the provinces, many of them coming from Spain, so that the prophecy, made in the early years of the conquest, "that Spain would become more Roman than Rome itself," was literally fulfilled.

The next wave of conquest, sweeping into Spain from the north and west, brought the Suevi, the Vandals, and the West Goths. In the latter quarter of the fourth century the Suevi and the Vandals "swept away the barriers of the Roman Empire beyond the Alps," entered Gaul, and in 409 passed the Pyrenees and entered Spain. This invasion was attended by indescribable cruelty. The Vandals ravaged the people, plundered the country, destroyed the cities, and finally, "satiated with carnage and rapine," they settled down upon the depopulated

country. Rome was unable to drive out these terrible invaders with her weakened legions, but she succeeded in making a half-alliance with another barbarian tribe, the West Goths, who had recently broken across the boundary in the northeast and had swept across Greece and northern Italy down into Rome. Their famous leader, Alaric, sacked Rome in 410. Leaving Italy, the Goths attacked the Suevi and the Vandals and drove them out of southern France and Spain into northern Africa. The West Goths then settled down in the peninsula, where they established a kingdom which lasted for three hundred years.

These West Goths, who now became the rulers of the country, were Arian Christians, and were therefore distasteful both to the Franks, who were orthodox Christians, and to the papacy at Rome. The Goths, however, were kindly disposed toward the Jews, who now came into the country in considerable numbers, where they became prosperous and wealthy. The Jews were not here compelled to resort to the debasing means of extorting wealth, which was forced upon them in other places, and they became once more tillers of the soil and "cultivators of the arts." This condition of things, however,

The West Gothic
Kingdom and the
Jews

began to change in the latter part of the sixth century, when in the reign of King Reccared (586-601) Arianism was abolished as

the religion of the court and orthodox Christianity was established. The Catholic faith soon came to be accepted by most of the Arian subjects. This change had far-reaching influences in that it led to the disappearance of the Gothic language and literature and to the complete fusion of the Latin and Gothic populations. Another influence which grew out of this change in religion was the increased prominence given the ecclesiastical

Orthodox Christianity
Displaces Arianism

element in the government. High church officials were now more influential than the turbulent nobles, and the church councils became the legislative assemblies of the kingdom. Still another influence growing out of these changed religious conditions was the increased intolerance which began to manifest itself soon after the change to orthodoxy was made. The

first great persecution of the Jews took place in the reign of King Sisebut (612-620), and thereafter the position of the Jews in the peninsula became more and more intolerable and persecutions more and more frequent.

The event, however, which gave to the Iberian peninsula its most peculiar history and has been the greatest influence in making the Spaniards a peculiar race was the Arab and Berber invasion, which took place in the beginning of the eighth century. In the seventh century after Christ the prophet Mohammed began to preach the religion of Islam to the Arabian people. For many centuries the people of Arabia had lived in strange isolation, undisturbed by the rising and falling of kingdoms all about them, paying little heed to the outside world. But with the preaching of Mohammed a great change was wrought, and the Arabian people, who before the time of the prophet had been a loose collection of rival tribes wandering over the desert, now were welded into a real nation, with one supreme ambition, to bring their new-found religion to all mankind. By the time of the death of the prophet his religion had spread throughout all Arabia, and his followers were busy carrying it to the neighboring lands. By the end of the seventh

The Mohammedan
Conquests to 710

century it had overrun Persia and Egypt and had swept across Africa as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. Among the tribes in northern Africa to fall before the Arabian conquerors were the Berbers, a fierce, warlike people who, however, were not subdued without a great and long struggle. Finally, the only place remaining unconquered in north Africa was the fortress of Ceuta, nominally belonging to the eastern empire, just across the narrow seas from the shores of Spain.

At the beginning of the eighth century the West Gothic kingdom of Spain was in no condition to resist the onslaught of determined conquerors. A large proportion of the people were slaves, as in Roman times, while the nobles held the land in great estates and lived in luxury and idleness. The middle classes were oppressed with taxation and the burdens of maintaining the government. The last of the West Gothic kings was Roderick, who had gained the throne by deposing his

predecessor, and the government was in a weakened condition and without the support of the people. The Jews also, badly treated since orthodox Christianity had become the religion of the state, hated the government and were ready and anxious to exchange their Gothic masters for Arabian, and they were active in hastening the downfall of the kingdom. The governor of Ceuta also hated King Roderick because of wrongs done his daughter, and he too plotted his overthrow, even furnishing ships, in 710, to take the first plundering band of five hundred

**Mohammedan
Conquests of Spain**

Berbers to the shores of Spain. This expedition was fully successful, and the next year seven thousand Moors under the leadership of Tarik landed safely on the shores of Spain, advanced unopposed, and on the banks of the Guadalete, a stream running into the Straits of Cape Trafalgar, met the forces of King Roderick, and after eight days of fighting completely defeated him. In the words of the old Spanish ballad—

"The Hosts of Rodrigo were scattered in dismay,
When lost was the last battle, nor heart nor hope had they;
He, when he saw that field was lost, and all his hope was flown,
He turned him from his flying host, and took his way alone.

.

"He looked for the brave captains that led the hosts of Spain,
But all were fled except the dead, and who could count the slain?
Where'er his eye could wander all bloody was the plain,
And while this he said, the tears he shed ran down his face like rain."

And so the West Gothic kingdom was overthrown, and for eight centuries the fairest provinces of Spain were to remain under the dominion of the Moslem.

Such have been the waves of conquest and invasion which have swept into the Iberian peninsula. Upon the original stock, already mixed, has been grafted the stock of the Roman,

**II. The Spaniard the
Most Oriental of
European Peoples**

the West Goth, and the Moor, to say nothing of the influences left by the Phœnician, the Greek, the Carthaginian, and the Jew.

The second characteristic of the Spaniard is that he is the most Oriental of all Europeans. After the Mohammedan con-

quest of Spain, the line between the Moor and the Christian was not as closely drawn as we might expect. The Moors were extremely tolerant, and the Christians who remained in the conquered territories were given undisputed enjoyment of their property and religion. Seven churches in Cordoba and six in Toledo were occupied by the Christians throughout the whole period of the Moorish domination, and public Christian worship was allowed. Taxes were on the whole light, and with the exception of the poll tax, Moors and Christians were treated alike. There was little attempt on the part of the Moors to convert the Christians, though many Christians became converts to the faith of their conquerors, and intermarriage between the race was common.

Nothing is more interesting in the history of the Spanish peninsula than the relation of the Jew to its civilization. As we have already seen, Jews were present in Spain in large numbers before the coming of the Moors and welcomed the conquerors from northern Africa. Under the Moors the Jews found conditions for themselves much improved, and they turned again to agriculture and pastoral life. They also took part in the intellectual revival in Spain, and it was the combined influence of the Jews and the Moor which caused Spain for a time to lead the civilization of western Europe. At this period there is little doubt but that Spain was the most tolerant

Spain the Most
Tolerant Nation in
Europe in the Early
Middle Ages

nation in Europe. The Christian, the Moor, and the Jew lived together, side by side, each respecting the other. "The period during which Spanish territory was divided between

the Christian and the Mohammedan appears, from the standpoint of social enlightenment, the most hopeful in the history of the peninsula. The process of race affiliation and assimilation had begun, and through the mingling of the elements present there was forming a new nation, big with the prospects of great material achievement."

Although there was considerable mixing of these three races during the early mediæval period, when they lived together in mutual respect, yet the mixing went on more rapidly after persecution of the Jews and the Moors. As the influence of

the church and the church officials came to be greater in the peninsula, toleration gave way to tolerance. The church taught the people to abhor the Jew, and from time to time the spirit of persecution broke out against them. The tolerant attitude toward the Moor also underwent a change, and by the thirteenth century the attempt was made to compel both the Jews and the Moors to wear peculiar garbs, in order that they might at once be recognized and avoided. From the year 1300 popular hatred of the Jews greatly increased, and in the year 1391 there occurred a great and terribly cruel massacre.

Persecution of the
Jews After 1300.
Their Intermarriage
with Spaniards

Popular passion against the hated race was aroused by the preaching of an official connected with the court of the Archbishop of Seville, and a wave of persecution swept over the entire kingdom of Castile, spreading at length to Aragon. Public authority was paralyzed, Jewries were sacked, and the Jews who would not submit to baptism were ruthlessly killed. As a result of this terrible persecution Castile and Aragon suffered a shock to their commerce and industry, which was largely in Jewish and Moorish hands, from which they never recovered. After this many Jews professed conversion, and were known as conversos. These conversos made up a considerable proportion of the population, and many of them reached positions of authority in both church and state, where they became even more fanatical than the Spaniards themselves. Intermarriage between these conversos and the Spaniards became frequent, due to the desire of the poor Spanish nobility to recoup their fortunes, and by 1500 most of the great families of Spain had Jewish blood in their veins.

Thus was one Oriental element added to the Spanish race.

The fact that the Spaniard came to be the most intolerant of Europeans is due to the long struggle between the Spaniard and the Moor rather than to anything inherent in Spanish character. As we have already seen, during the early period of Mohammedan rule in Spain, a degree of tolerance was developed unknown in other European countries. The little Christian states which arose in northern Spain were only

Christian in name. Moor and Christian fought side by side.¹ "The Cid," the traditional hero of Christian Spain, fought with Moor and Christian alike; for although he led the forces of Castile, he nevertheless had Moors in his employ. When, however, these Christian states had grown to considerable size, and had become better organized, the influence of the church naturally increased, and the Roman Church has never been noted for her toleration of other faiths. The early struggles with

III. Growth of Intolerance in Spain

the Moors were not crusades against the infidel, but were waged, like all mediæval wars, for plunder or territory. The crusading spirit in Spain and Portugal arose at the same time as in other European states. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the centuries of the crusades, when all Christian Europe was aroused against the infidel, Spain with the rest. Spain, however, took little or no part in the expeditions to capture the holy places; her crusading zeal was confined to the destruction of the infidel at her very doors.

During these years the church urged the Christian states of Spain to rid themselves of the disgrace of harboring the infidel. The Jew and the Moor were held up before the people as enemies of God and the Christian race. While the other European states were organizing their orders of Christian knights, such as the Knights Templars, the Knights Hospitalers, and the Teutonic Knights, the Spanish and Portuguese crusaders were organizing their orders of the Santiago, and Calatrava, of Alcantara, and Evora. The European orders fought the infidel in Syria and in the Holy Land, but the Portuguese and Spanish knight fought the infidel in his own peninsula. The Spanish and Portuguese crusades lasted

The Spanish and Portuguese Crusades Against the Moors

much longer than the crusades among the other European states. Gradually the crusading spirit died out in France and England and Germany, and by the end of the fourteenth century it was

¹ "A Spanish Knight of the Middle Ages fought neither for his country nor for his religion; he fought like the Cid, to get something to eat, whether under a Christian or a Moslem prince." *Dozy, Recherches, sur les Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii, pp. 203, 233. Quoted in Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, vol. i, p. 88.

no longer a factor in Europe, but not so in Spain and Portugal. Here it lasted until the Moor was completely conquered, or driven beyond the borders of Spain, and this was not finally accomplished until the very year 1492. The crusading energy was effective in driving the Moors farther and farther southward, and on July 6, 1212, the five confederated states of Cas-

The Battle of Las
Navas de Tolosa,
July 6, 1212

tile, Aragon, Leon, Navarre, and Portugal won the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, and the fate of Spain was decided in

favor of the Christian states. In 1236 Cordoba, the capital of the Kalifs, fell, and in 1248 Seville was taken by the Christian armies. With the fall of Seville the organized effort to drive the Moors out of Spain came to an end, for the latter, retiring to the mountains of Granada, maintained themselves for two hundred and fifty years longer, only to be finally conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The spirit of intolerance engendered by these long wars against the Moors came to its final flower in the Spanish Inquisition. In 1480 Ferdinand and Isabella requested authorization of the Pope for the appointment of themselves as inquisitors to root out heresy. To this request the Pope readily consented, and in September of that year a special court was established at Seville, and the famous Inquisition began its work. At first the Jews and Moors were not subject to its jurisdiction, but on March 20, 1492, the policy in this respect was changed, and all the Jews were ordered either to change

The Spanish
Inquisition

their religion or leave the country by July 31. This decree instituted one of the most cruel and heartless persecutions in history.

Thus the same year which saw the discovery of America and the capture of Granada saw the expulsion of at least one hundred thousand Jews and the enforced conversion of many more thousands. In 1500 the Moors were likewise brought under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition and their enforced conversion or expulsion followed.

By the year 1500 Spain had become the Catholic nation par excellence, and her monarchs were known as the most Catholic kings. She had become the eldest daughter of the

papacy and the chief agent in carrying out the papal policy throughout the world.

Another result of the long wars against the Moors was the fact that war and religion came to be the dominant interests in the life of the peninsula. In the early years of the struggle against the Moors refugees fled northward, where they lived in the mountain fastnesses. There they occupied themselves in fighting and plundering, and every man of them considered

**IV. War and Religion
Become the Dominant
Interests in the Life
of Spain**

himself an *hidalgo* or a knight. And this was not only true in the early days, but continued to be one of the peculiarities of Spanish society. Every pure-blooded Spaniard

considered himself as belonging to at least the lower order of the nobility, and there were but two occupations a noble Spaniard might honorably enter—the army and the church.

Spanish society in the sixteenth century seemed to exist for the church rather than the church for society. In this century there were in Spain “58 archbishoprics, 684 bishoprics, 11,400 monasteries, 23,000 brotherhoods, 46,000 monks, 13,000 nuns, 312,000 secular priests, and more than 400,000 ecclesiastics, while there were 80,000 civil servants, and 367,000 other officials.” All these ministered to a population of perhaps six millions of people. So devoted to religion and its practices was Spain of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that there were actually more holy days than there were days in the year; thus a pious Spanish layman might devote every day in the year to religious observances. During the reign of Ferdinand

**Importance of Religion
in Spain in the
Sixteenth Century**

and Isabella the reform of the Spanish church had been accomplished, under the direction of the great Cardinal Ximenes, and the

Spanish church served as a model for the reform of the whole Catholic Church at the Council of Trent. Accordingly, the Spanish *conquistador* of America was imbued with the typical religious ideas of his country; to spread religion and to convert the natives of the New World was one of the chief motives which led him to undertake discovery and colonization. To him religion and war had always been closely allied. The long wars against the Moors had been waged largely on account of

religion, and therefore to force Christianity upon the natives of America by means of the sword was the most natural thing in the world for him to attempt. Again and again in the accounts of the Spanish conquest of America it will be necessary to remember the peculiar religious conditions in Spain in order to understand the occurrences and actions of the conquistadores.

All this had a far-reaching effect upon the economic life of Spain. The Spaniard was not a producer of wealth. He looked with contempt upon trade; he neglected his fields, while he entertained a low opinion of the industrial classes and of those who were the producers of wealth. In the sixteenth century Spain was a very poor country, for not only was agriculture neglected but industry of all sorts was at a low stage of development. The expulsion of the Jews and the Moors was a great blow to the economic life of the country. The Jews controlled certain lines of industry, and had been the bankers and money-lenders time out of mind. The Moors were even more important economically than were the Jews, for they were the

V. Economic Condition of Spain in 1500

tillers of the soil and the raisers of cattle and sheep. When these two classes were brought under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition and

many thousands of them were compelled to flee the country, Spain lost her most important economic classes. Never were economic laws more disregarded than in Spain. The industrial and economic condition seemed to be the last thing to be taken into account, while every interest had to give way to the demands of the holy Catholic faith. One can hardly help but admire this supreme contempt for worldly interests.

In the year 1215 the Florentine historian Guicciardini was sent to Spain by his government to learn all he could of that country. He remained in Spain for two years, and at the end of his investigation made a careful report of what he had observed. Speaking of the population he says, "Spain is thinly populated, so that towns and burghs are rare, and between one great town and another scarcely a house will be found." Aside from the great centers, most of the towns were small and had rude buildings. The land was very fertile but poorly culti-

vated. Of the Spaniard he says: "The men of this nation are gloomy of temperament and swarthy of complexion. . . . They are proud by nature, and it seems to them as if no nation could be compared with theirs. . . . They have little love for foreigners, and are very uncivil toward them. They are devoted to arms, perhaps more than any other Christian nation. . . . In military matters they are great sticklers for honor." In regard to trade he observes: "The natives do not devote themselves to trade, which they look upon as degrading; the pride of the hidalgo goes to his head, and he would rather turn to arms with little chance of gain, or serve a grandee in wretchedness and poverty, or, before the time of the present king, even assault wayfarers, than engage in trade or any other business. . . . The whole nation is opposed to industry. Accordingly, the artisans only work when they are driven to do so by necessity, and then they take their ease until they have spent their earnings; this is the reason why manual labor is so dear. The meanest cultivators of the soil have the same habit. . . . Aside from a few grandees of the kingdom who display great luxury, it must be remembered that the rest of the people live at home in utmost straits, and if they have a little to spend they put it all on their backs or in purchasing a mule, thus making a great show before the world when they have scarce anything at home, where they exercise an economy truly astonishing." Although they live on very little, yet they are by no means free from cupidity, and are in fact very avaricious; and not having anything in the way of the arts to rely upon, they are driven to robbing and plundering. The religion of the Spaniard, according to Guicciardini, is extremely superficial. Outwardly they seem very religious but inwardly have little. "They have infinite ceremonies, which they perform with great exactness, and show much humility in speech, the use of titles, and the kissing of hands. Everyone is their lord, everyone may command them; but this means little, and you can place no faith in them." Such was the Spaniard at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as seen by a contemporary.

Spain in 1512, as
Described by the
Florentine Historian
Guicciardini

When the Spaniard came to America he came with three chief motives: (1) He was hungry for adventure. The closing of the wars with the Moors had thrown many Spanish knights out of employment, but the opening of America was to them a door of hope, a new field for the exercise of arms, and the prospects of new conquests appealed to them as a golden opportunity. (2) He came with a sincere desire to spread the holy Catholic faith, and in the midst of all his various activities in America he never lost sight of his religious program; with hardly an exception, priests accompanied every expedition, and no opportunity was neglected of establishing Christian worship among the natives. (3) He came searching for wealth. Infinitely poor, and having no means of gaining wealth at home, the Spanish knight came to the New World for gold, and his desire was insatiable. These three motives explain practically every act of the Spaniard in America.

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CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL ASPECTS AND NATIVE RACES OF LATIN AMERICA

I. PHYSICAL ASPECTS

LATIN AMERICA, including South America, Central America, and the Spanish West Indies, covers an area of more than 8,000,000 square miles. The approximate area of Mexico and the Central American states is 1,000,000 square miles, while the area of Spanish West Indies is nearly 100,000 square miles, leaving for South America proper an area of over 7,000,000 square miles. The greatest breadth of South America is 3,500 miles, and its greatest length 4,600 miles, while the distance from the northern boundary of Mexico to the extreme southern boundary of Chile is nearly 7,000 miles. Latin America occupies more than half the area of the American continents, and the largest Latin American state, Brazil, is larger than the United States, without Alaska, and larger than all Europe, without Russia. When we glance at the dimensions of the countries covering the continent and compare them with others with which we are more familiar, we will perhaps get a better idea of the size of the territory occupied by Latin America.

Area of Latin
America

The little new republic of Panama is larger than two Switzerland, Switzerland having an area of 15,976 square miles, while Panama has 33,000 square miles. Uruguay, the smallest of the republics in South America proper, has an area of 72,210 square miles, which is larger than England, and is over 3,000 square miles larger than the six New England States. The republics of Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru range from 364,000 to 695,733 square miles, the smallest of them being larger than France and Spain combined. Argentina, with an area of 1,135,840 square miles, is larger than the United States east of the Mississippi River. If we should lay Argen-

tina upon the continent of North America it would reach, from the southern tip of Florida to northern Labrador.

From the standpoint of land relief South America proper may be divided into four divisions: (1) the great Andean Mountain chain, which is the most striking feature of the continent, with the narrow plain lying between it and the Pacific Ocean; (2) the great plateau of Brazil, with the two coastal mountain ranges, spreading westward and northward to the heart of the continent; (3) the highlands of Guiana and Venezuela between the Orinoco and the mouth of the Amazon; and (4) the lowlands that spread out along the three main lines of continental drainage, namely, the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the Paraguay basins.

Everything in South America is on a grand scale. The mountains are the highest in the western hemisphere. From Cape Horn to the Isthmus of Panama, the great Cordillera follows the coast line closely. The coastal plain between the mountains and the sea has an average width of forty miles, and when the weather is favorable the mountains are visible to passengers on ocean steamers all the way from the Straits of Magellan to Panama. South of the forty-first degree south latitude, the coast is characterized by a vast number of islands, "probably produced by the recent submergence of a mountain system and the consequent invasion of its steep-sided valleys by the ocean." The islands along the coast are but the high portion of these mountains which remain above water. North of the forty-first degree the coast is but little

**The Andean Range
and the Coastal Plain**

indented, and there are few harbors. From about thirty degrees south to Guayaquil the coast is sandy, arid, and barren, and is one of the dryest portions of the earth. The streams which flow from the mountains are short, and many of the smaller ones do not reach the sea, but are lost in the sands of the desert. From Guayaquil to Panama the coast is covered with a tropical vegetation.

The Andean range is about 4,400 miles long. In the southern part there is but a single range; from northern Argentina through the central part there are two ranges, while in the

north there are three. Upon the Cordilleran ridge rise some of the highest peaks in the world, though various authorities differ in their estimates of their elevations. The highest of these peaks is Aconcagua, in Argentina, which rises to the great height of over 23,000 feet, 9,000 feet higher than the highest mountain in the United States. There are sixteen

Mountain Peaks known peaks scattered along the range, in Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia, ranging from over 15,000 feet to 23,000. Cotopaxi, Tunguragua, Maipo, and Sangai are the highest active volcanoes in the world. Many glaciers are found in the Andes, even under the equator itself, the largest glaciers being found in the southern part, their streams emptying into the Straits of Magellan.

The eastern side of the continent is very different from the western side. The country from the Straits of Magellan to the southern part of Brazil is flat, and is called the La Plata pampas. It is much like the plains in the central part of the United States, with rich alluvial soil, and largely destitute of timber. In the north there are abundant grasses, suitable for pasturing cattle, but at the south vegetation is stunted, due to the dry climate. Between the valleys of the La Plata and the Amazon is a great plateau bordered by the range of mountains called

The Eastern Side of the Continent the Serra do Mar. In many places these mountains come down to the coast, giving the shore line a most picturesque appearance, and here are to be found the best harbors in the continent. North of latitude twenty degrees the mountains swing inland, and the coast becomes low-lying to the seventeenth degree, north of which it is bordered by bluffs, ranging from fifty to two hundred and fifty feet high. North of the mouth of the Amazon the coast is low-lying and swampy and is covered with a dense tropical vegetation.

The eastern side of the continent is also in great contrast to the western in the number and size of the rivers. South America has three great river systems, namely, the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the La Plata. These three great systems drain an area of 3,686,400 square miles. The Orinoco is the smallest of the largest rivers, but it is 1,450 miles in length, and with

its tributaries has many miles of navigable waters. The main stream, during the most favorable season, is navigable for 1,000 miles. The La Plata includes the Paraná, the Uruguay, and the Paraguay. The streams coming from the arid regions of the west are brackish, while those from the rainy, wooded region are all fresh streams. The La Plata discharges more water into the ocean than does the Mississippi, and is navigable for ocean-going vessels from 1,200 to 1,300 miles above Buenos Aires, while smaller vessels can go over 2,000 miles into the interior. The Amazon, greatest of South American rivers, is the largest in the world. This river is navigable for 3,000 miles, while it is estimated that there are some 30,000 miles of navigable waterways in the Amazon valley. The Amazon is a sluggish stream, nowhere confined to a single channel, and spreads over a vast plain. The land along the stream is low and marshy, and at times under water.

Besides these three great river systems, there are several other streams of considerable size. The Magdalena in Colombia is a large river, over two thousand miles long, and is navigable for a considerable distance. It is a very muddy, crooked stream. The San Francisco lies wholly in Brazil, and flows northwestward to latitude nine degrees thirty minutes, when it bends sharply to the right and enters the Atlantic. It flows through a mountainous country and is only navigable for 150 miles in its lower course. There are no large rivers

Smaller South American Rivers and Lakes flowing into the Pacific, the Bio Bio in central Chile being the largest. Most of the lakes in South America are in the mountains, and are found in the Andes or near their base. Lake Titicaca, in northern Bolivia, is the largest, covering 5,000 square miles, and is 12,545 feet above sea level. It has a maximum depth of 700 feet and never freezes over. Lake Junin near Lima covers an area of 200 square miles, and is over 13,000 feet above sea level. In southern Argentina is a series of glacial lakes, and in Venezuela is Lake Maracaibo, but it is a bay rather than a lake.

Much of South America lies within the torrid zone, but because of high elevations temperate conditions prevail. In

the western part of the continent a large part of the population live at elevations from 7,000 to 10,000 feet. Two thirds of South America is within the torrid zone, and one third in the temperate, yet most of the South American capitals have a temperate climate. Quito lies under the equator, yet with an elevation of nearly two miles it has a delightful climate.

Climate

Districts as large as European states lie at such altitudes as to have a cool and healthful climate and produce grains and other temperate zone plants. None of the countries of South America are without large temperate zone districts. The climate of the west coast of South America is also affected by cold ocean currents which further modify torrid conditions.

South America has furnished an unusually large number of the world's useful plants. Among them are valuable dye woods, such as Brazil wood, rubber-producing plants, cotton, the potato, both white and yellow, tomato, mandioca, the pineapple, maize, and different varieties of squashes and pumpkins. The vanilla bean, ipecac, cocoa, the chocolate plant, and other fruits and nuts which have become familiar to us are indigenous to South America. The Amazon valley is

Flora and Food Plants

covered with a dense growth of tropical plants. The palm in many varieties and shapes has its greatest development here. Other tropical and subtropical plants have likewise been introduced into South America, such as the banana, sugar cane, the orange tree, and the coffee plant.

The natives of South America had few domesticated animals, but on the west coast, especially in the highlands of what is now Peru and Bolivia, they succeeded in domesticating the vicuña, the llama, and the guanaco—animals peculiar to that region and related to the camel. The llama was the common

Domesticated Animals

beast of burden, while the silken wool of the vicuña and the alpaca was woven into fine cloth, and their flesh was used as meat.

These animals are still used by the Indians of these regions much as they were when the Spaniards began their conquest.

Most of the surface of Mexico is a great plateau bordered

on both the east and west by mountains, with a fringe of low lands between the plateau and the coast on either side. To the extreme south there is a mountainous section, while most of the peninsula of Yucatan is a low table land. The great central plateau at its greatest elevation is 8,000 feet above sea level, while in the northern part the elevation averages about 3,500 feet. The mountain chain on the west is known as the Sierra Madre Occidental, and consists of several parallel ranges with their own names. The highest elevations in this range are the Nevado de Colima (14,363 feet) and the Volcan de Colima (12,750 feet). The eastern range is called the Sierra Madre Oriental. In the northern part this range is low, but south of Tampico it reaches a great elevation, cul-

minating in such peaks as Orizaba (18,209 feet) and Cofre de Perote (13,419 feet).

There are several ranges which cross the plateau, to some of which have been given the name "Cordillera de Anahuac." In the center of the plateau are several snow-capped volcanoes, Popocatepetl (Smoking Mountain) and Ixtaccihuatl (White Woman), both of which are over 17,000 feet high. This part of Mexico is volcanic in character. In the center of the plateau, between the sixteenth and twentieth degrees, is a great depression, known as the valley of Mexico, which formerly contained a series of salt lakes, but now only small lakes and marshy lagoons remain. Mexico has no large rivers, most of the streams being little more than mountain torrents. The largest rivers are the Rio Grande Santiago, which rises in the state of Mexico and flows westward into the Pacific; the Rio de las Balsas, which rises in Tlaxcala and flows southwest into the Pacific; and the Yaqui, which rises in the state of Chihuahua and flows westward into the Gulf of California. The longest of these rivers is only 540 miles in length, and none of them is important as navigable streams.

Like South America, Mexico has a great variety of climate, due to varying elevations. The climate of Mexico is determined by vertical zones. The low-lying coast, called the *tierras calientes*, ranging in width from 30 to 40 miles, has a tropical temperature. The next

The Geography of
Mexico

Climate of Mexico

zone is the *tierra templada*, or sub-tropical zone, which rises to an elevation of 5,577 feet and embraces a territory from 50 to 100 miles broad on both sides of the country. Above this is the *tierra fria*, which includes the highest portions of the plateau, and has a temperature corresponding to the temperature of the United States.

The chief physical features of Central America are the mountain chains which traverse the country from end to end. The mountains are nearer the Pacific than the Atlantic, except in Costa Rica and Panama, where they are almost equidistant from the two oceans. The mountains are volcanic and there are many active craters. The country is mostly covered with a dense tropical growth, and for that reason much of it is still imperfectly surveyed. The rivers, especially on the Pacific

**Physical Features of
Central America**

side, are little more than mountain torrents, though on the Atlantic side the Segovia, in Nicaragua and Honduras, has a course 450 miles in length. There are several mountain lakes, Lake Nicaragua, the largest, having an area of 3,500 square miles. Like Mexico, the climate of Central America depends upon the elevation. British Honduras and Guatemala have a hot climate, while Salvador and Costa Rica, due to high elevations, have a temperate climate. The rainfall is heavy, ranging from 50 to 200 inches.

The West India islands are the summits of submerged mountain chains, and both Cuba and Haiti are rugged and mountainous. Cuba has mountains from one end to the other, though not continuous. The eastern portion of the island is high and rugged, to the west of which are open plains, which in turn give way to another rough and broken region; the region about Habana is flat and rolling, while the extreme western end of the island is again mountainous. Cuba has a great number of short streams, the Cauto in the east part of the island being the longest. One of the peculiarities of Cuba

Cuba and Haiti

is the great number of caves and caverns, the island being largely underlaid with limestone. The climate is tropical, with heavy rainfall, though droughts of long duration are not uncommon. Haiti is far more rugged

than Cuba, mountains covering the whole island, reaching almost everywhere to the coast, there being only here and there a few strips of beach. There is a central range running from east to west, while to the north and south are other ranges. Haiti has four fair-sized rivers and several mountain lakes. Owing to the more general elevation Haiti has a greater variety of climate than the other islands of the group. There is an abundant rainfall.

II. NATIVE RACES

The native races, which the Spaniards and the Portuguese found in South and Central America and in the West Indies,

Native Races in Latin
America

may be roughly divided into two classes:

(1) the savage Indians who were found on the islands and east of the Andes in South America; (2) the semicivilized Indians, inhabiting the territory west of the Andes in South America, such as the Peruvians in the highlands of Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia, and the Mayas of Yucatan, and the Aztecs in Mexico.

The savages whom Columbus and his successors found upon the islands of Haiti and Cuba were a mild race, described by the Spaniards as feeble in intellect and also physically defective. The number of Indians on the islands at the coming of the Spaniards has been doubtless greatly exaggerated, though

The Native Population
on the Islands Haiti
and Cuba

there must have been a considerable population. These people lived in rude huts, and practiced a limited and extremely primitive

agriculture. The island Indians were soon exterminated by the Spaniards and there is hardly a trace of them remaining. Little has been done in the way of archæological study, and nothing of the language or traditions of the aborigines has survived.

The chief tribes inhabiting South America east of the Andes were the Caribs in the north, in what is now Venezuela; the Arawaks, occupying the Guianas; the Tupi Indians, found in Brazil along the Amazon valley; and the Pampas Indians, in Argentina. The Caribs were a fierce, warlike race, and stoutly resisted the Spaniards. They were cannibals, and for that

reason were terrifying to the earliest explorers along the northern coast of South America. The Caribs were also found in some of the smaller islands of the West India group. The Arawaks were much milder than the Caribs. They were peaceful agriculturists, and were the most civilized of all the races found in northeastern South America, being weavers of cloth and workers in metals. The most important of the Amazon

**The Native Races in
Eastern South
America**

tribes were the Tupi. These tribes covered the territory from the Amazon to the southern part of what is now Brazil, and made up perhaps the most numerous race. The Pampas Indians were those tribes inhabiting the great plains of Argentina. These Indians were divided into many different tribes, though they possessed common characteristics. They were warlike, and the hostility of the tribes living at the mouth of the Rio de La Plata was one of the chief reasons why the Spaniards were unsuccessful in their first three attempts to establish Buenos Aires.

The Araucanians composed a group of tribes living in southern Chile. They were an extremely warlike and brave people, and their long wars with the Spaniards, in which they were never completely conquered, have given them a distinction beyond that of any other group of natives. In warfare the Araucanians used the bow and arrow, wooden clubs, and lassos weighted by stones. In many respects their war customs were similar to those of the Iroquois Indians of central New York.

The Araucanians

Although they lived in houses and practiced agriculture to a limited degree, yet intellectually they had made little progress and as a whole remained cruel savages.

North of the Araucanians lived two great tribes, the Quechuan and Aymaran, to whom the term "Incas" is generally applied. The Quechuan were found in what is now eastern Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and parts of Bolivia, while the Aymaran were located around Lake Titicaca. It is generally supposed that the name "Inca" was applied to the Quechuan chieftain and the members of the ruling family and eventually was applied to the whole tribe. The capital of the Inca kingdom was Cuzco,

north of Lake Titicaca, Lake Titicaca being the center of the primitive civilization of this region. The Incas developed a

The Incas: The
Quechuan and
Aymaran Tribes

strong government of a paternal character, and a highly intensive agriculture, building terraces up the mountain sides, and using

fertilizers and irrigation. As we have already noticed, they were the only people in America to domesticate a beast of burden, the llama, which they employed not only as a beast of burden but also for food. They raised potatoes, maize, and cotton; they obtained fine wool from the Alpaca, which they wove into cloth and blankets. They were also skillful workers in metals, which they used for ornaments and utensils, but not for a medium of exchange. They erected huge buildings, fitting the stones together without mortar, cutting them to fit so accurately that even yet, in the finest examples of their stone-work, a knife blade cannot be inserted in the crevices. These remarkable peoples also constructed roads, the remains of which are still visible. At the time the Spaniards came to America the Inca kingdom extended from the northern boundary of the present republic of Ecuador to the center of Chile, a distance of nearly three thousand miles. It was by far the largest single kingdom developed among the native races in America.

Inhabiting what is now Colombia were the Chibchans, a people almost as far along in civilization as the natives of Peru. They were skillful weavers of cloth and were adept as potters. They lived in houses and erected great temples. They too had

The Chibchans of
Colombia

carried agriculture to a high degree of success and lived under an absolute government which severely punished crime. The Chib-

chans are credited with a system of weights and measures and a currency in the form of gold disks. Like the Aymaran and the Quichuan tribes, they were skilled workers in the precious metals, which they wrought into ornaments for personal adornment and for use in their temples.

The chief inhabitants of Central America and Mexico, at the coming of the Spaniards, were the Aztecs of Mexico and the Mayas of Central America and Yucatan. There has been

discovered in Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras the ruins of several ancient cities, which are said to be of greater extent and superior in every way to any of the ruins to be found in Mexico. At the time the Spaniards came most of these cities

The Indians of
Central America

were abandoned, but they give undoubted evidence that there once existed in Central America a highly developed empire. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards the tribes in Yucatan were found to be hostile and skilled warriors, and gave the discoverers much trouble. They wore clothing made of cotton and, like the Aztecs, had developed a form of picture-writing. Mr. Bancroft thinks that the Mayan civilization was much older than that of Mexico, and that Central America was the most ancient home of civilization in America.

The most remarkable civilization with which the Spaniards came in contact was that of the confederated tribes in Mexico, under their emperor Montezuma. The valley of Mexico was the seat, however, of a much more ancient civilization than that which the Spaniards found. It is supposed that in the sixth century a tribe, known as the Toltecs, built up a civilization in the valley. In the eleventh century the Toltecs were driven out by a ruder people, who occupied the territory for a time but were finally conquered by the tribe we know as the Aztecs. When the Spaniards came into Mexico the Aztecs

The Aztecs of Mexico

had been in control of the valley for about two hundred years. The Aztecs were skilled agriculturists, cultivating a great variety of crops; they lived in well-built cities, some of which impressed the Spaniard as more beautiful than many in Spain. The capital of the empire was the City of Mexico, located in the largest of the salt lakes, in the valley, and was a most wonderful city from the standpoint of both size and beauty, if we can trust the reports of the Spanish conquerors. There were well-ordered government, a judicial system, almost modern in its organization, and written laws. The religion of the Aztecs, however, was very repulsive to the Spaniards, because of the prevalence of human sacrifice, though in other respects it compared favorably with some of the higher forms of religion.

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CHAPTER III

PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH EXPLORATION IN AMERICA

BACK of the discovery of America lies a long period in which the people of western Europe were gradually becoming better acquainted with the world immediately about them, and during which travelers and explorers were busy acquiring skill and experience for larger and more important discoveries. The first government to undertake exploration was that of the little country of Portugal. Portugal from the thirteenth century had been interested in trade and commerce. For many years her ports had had direct commercial relations with Flanders, and by the middle of the fourteenth century fleets from Venice made regular voyages to Lisbon. Thus Portugal became interested in the products of the east, and when in 1263 she succeeded in conquering the little Moorish kingdom of Algarves, situated in what is now the southern part of Portugal, she was given a southern as well as a western sea-coast, which was an added incentive for increasing her Mediterranean trade. The chief reason, however, why Portugal led Europe in discovery and exploration was because of the enthusiasm and devotion of one man, who has become known to history as Prince Henry the Navigator.

Prince Henry was the fourth son of King John II of Portugal. As a young man he had taken part in an expedition against the Moors in Africa, and from this experience his interest in the continent to the south of Portugal began. In the year 1419 he established his residence on the rock of Sagres, the extreme southwestern extension of Europe, and there for a period of forty years he devoted his energy to the task of finding a way around Africa. He had no family, and the income from his estates was lavished on this project to which he had dedicated his life. Upon this barren rock he built an observatory, the first

his country had seen, and here he gathered about him seamen and adventurers, and a school of navigation and map-making was established. From 1420 to the year of his death in 1460 this Portuguese prince sent out voyage after voyage to the southward. During the first ten years of his endeavor the Madeiras and the Azores were rediscovered and their permanent colonization begun. It took twenty-five years for the sailors of the prince to get as far south as Cape Verde, which was finally reached in 1445 by Fernandez Diaz. In successive years other voyages reached farther and farther southward, but the prince died before he had accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa. Fortunately, his work did not cease with his death, for the adventurous navigators he had trained continued their voyaging, supported by the Portuguese king. Finally, in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Capes of Africa, and ten years later Vasco da Gama, the greatest of all the Portuguese navigators, sailed around Africa to India, and returned with a cargo of spices, which we are told brought sixty times over the cost of the expedition. In the meantime a brisk trade was springing up on the west coast of Africa and Portuguese missionaries were being sent to the Congo.

Thus for considerably over a half century Portugal was active in discovery and navigation before Spain entered the field. It was, in fact, these voyages of the Portuguese navigators that led Columbus to think of sailing westward to find a new route to the Indies. "It was in Portugal that the Admiral began to surmise that if men could sail so far south, one might also sail west and find lands in that direction," said Ferdinand Columbus, who was the first biographer of his father. In 1470 Columbus, a native of Genoa, was attracted to Lisbon, then the great center of maritime adventure. Before this, however, Columbus had been interested in discovery, having been connected with ships and affairs of the sea since his early boyhood. It is quite certain that he had made several voyages of discovery previous to the great voyage. He had visited the Madeira and Canary Islands, and had gone on a voyage around the African

The Work of Prince
Henry the Navigator

Influence of Portugal
on Columbus

coast. He had also been an eager student of books of travel, which were beginning to become quite numerous, and his copy of Marco Polo's travels may still be seen, giving proof of his interest by its marginal jottings and thumb marks. Columbus appealed to the Portuguese king for help in an undertaking to find the way to the Indies by sailing westward, but the Portuguese were so engrossed in their interest in finding the way around Africa that Columbus was not able to gain the assistance he sought. He was received kindly by the Portuguese king, however, and a council of scientific men was called to consider the plan, though they pronounced it visionary. But in spite of this, the Portuguese sought to anticipate Columbus, and we are told that a ship was sent westward, which received the instruction to follow the plan outlined by Columbus. The sailors, however, not having their hearts in the matter, failed to sail far enough westward.

Columbus next tried to interest the Genoese government in his plan, but without success. It was after these rebuffs that he set out for Spain, arriving there in 1485. Ferdinand and Isabella were then engaged in the conquest of Granada, and were with their army at Cordoba. Here Columbus presented himself to the Queen's chaplain, to whom a kindly abbot had given him letters of introduction, but the cleric received him coldly and refused to present him to the queen. And it is little to be wondered at that Columbus was refused an audience with the monarchs of Spain, for he was only a humble sailor, picking up a living as he went from place to place drawing maps and charts. The greatest wonder is that he ever succeeded in presenting his plan. In the fall of 1485, however, he secured an audience with Ferdinand, who was so impressed that he called a council of scholars to consider it. After looking into the scheme, these so-called scholars declared the views of Columbus "unphilosophical and, worst of all, unscriptural," and, further, that "it was false and heretical to assume that land could be found by sailing west from Europe"; moreover, they wisely stated "that Columbus after he had descended the hemisphere would not be able to ascend again, for it would be like getting up a

**Columbus Gets a
Hearing in Spain**

mountain." While this decision discouraged Columbus, he did not give up hope. The fact that his plan had been discussed by a council of scholars served to give it considerable publicity, and, staying close to the court, he accompanied the Spanish army to the siege of Malaga in 1487. The next year Columbus dispatched his brother Bartholomew to lay his plan before King Henry VII of England, but, unfortunately, he fell among pirates in the channel. Although Henry VII was favorable to the plan, Bartholomew was not able to bring this good news to his brother until Columbus had started upon his famous voyage.

In 1489 Columbus had become completely discouraged and determined to try his fortune in France. Stopping to visit his little son Diego, at a monastery near Palos, the prior, who had formerly been queen's chaplain, learning of his intention to quit Spain for France, wrote to the queen urging her to accept the scheme of the navigator. So impressed was Isabella by the letter of her former chaplain that she at once summoned Columbus to the court, and he was at last taken under the royal protection. Columbus arrived in Granada just in time to see the last of the Moorish banners torn from the Alhambra and the united flag of Ferdinand and Isabella unfurled, and it was

Queen Isabella
Promises to Send
Columbus on His
Voyage

amid such strange surroundings as these that he first presented himself to the good queen. He asked for ships and sailors, that he be made admiral of all new discoveries, and that

he be given "a tenth of all spices, precious stones, precious metals found or bought or sold within the bounds of his discoveries." These demands the queen thought absurd, as they undoubtedly were, and once more Columbus was sent away. By this time, however, influential members of the court had been won over to his side, and on their intervention he was again summoned before the queen. At last she promised to grant him all things necessary for his voyage, even if it were necessary for her to give her jewels in pledge.

The agreement between the monarchs and Columbus was signed April 17, 1492, and immediately he began preparation at the port of Palos for his famous voyage. The three vessels which Palos annually furnished to the crown were placed at

the disposal of the admiral, and funds were advanced from the ecclesiastical revenues of the crown of Aragon. The Pinzon brothers, rich and skillful mariners of Palos, joined Columbus in his undertaking. Three vessels, the Santa Maria, the Pinta, and the Nina, were made ready, and ninety sailors were secured by proclamation offering immunity from civil and criminal process. The voyage started at sunrise, August 3, 1492, but before starting the crews gathered at the church and partook of the sacrament. Finally all was ready, and the course was

**Preparations for the
Voyage, and the
Voyage**

directed toward the Canary Islands, which were reached in seven days. Here they were detained three weeks by a broken rudder on the Pinta. Again they set sail, and farther and farther they penetrated into the unknown sea, while the crews became more and more alarmed and mutiny was never very far away. Now and again by the end of September they began to see flocks of land birds, then some sea weeds floating, and finally a branch of a tree with leaves and berries fresh upon it. Then the morning of the twelfth of October dawned, and behold before them lay a shore, and as they drew nearer crowds of friendly natives were seen. Soon a landing was accomplished, and the pious Columbus took possession of the new-found land in the name of the Catholic monarchs of Spain. Our knowledge of this first voyage is based upon the extracts of the journal of Columbus, which were copied by the first historian of the Indies, Las Casas, but the journal itself is lost. On his return Columbus wrote two letters to friends describing the voyage, and these letters furnish another important source.

The island which Columbus first sighted was named San Salvador, Holy Saviour, and was in the Bahama group, though its identity has been lost. The admiral was much disappointed in not finding gold among the natives, for when he exhibited samples of gold and pearls the simple natives only shook their heads. He left San Salvador on October 14, and sailed south-

**Columbus Finds La
Navidad**

ward, passing several small islands, and finally reached the north shore of Cuba. As they coasted along the shore of Cuba, Columbus came to the conclusion that they had found the mainland

of Asia. For two days he skirted the island in a southeasterly direction, and came finally to the island of Haiti, which Columbus thought was Japan. On Christmas Day the largest vessel, the Santa Maria, was wrecked, though the crew was safely transferred to the Nina. The Pinta had previously deserted the admiral, and Columbus feared that her captain, one of the Pinzons, had returned to Spain to reap the benefit of the discovery. Before starting on the return voyage Columbus determined to leave some of the men on the island, for the Nina was now much overcrowded. Accordingly, houses and a fortress were erected, the natives aiding in the work, and thirty-nine men were selected to form this temporary colony, which received the name of La Navidad, in honor of the escape from the wreck, on Christmas Day.

On January 4, 1493, the return voyage was begun, and two days later Columbus overtook the Pinta. After a stormy passage, during which the vessels were twice in danger of shipwreck, the Azores were at last sighted on February 15. Here they received a very ungracious reception from the Portuguese governor. Leaving the Azores, they ran into another storm, in which the vessels were again separated, and

The Return of
Columbus

finally the Nina was compelled to take refuge in the river Tagus. Here Columbus came once more in contact with the Portuguese,

but this time he was well received, invited to the court, and made much of. A few days later the little Nina sailed into the harbor of Palos; the people at once recognized the vessel, and immediately all trade was stopped, bells were rung, and when night came the streets were brilliantly illuminated in honor of the great admiral.

As soon as the monarchs learned of the return of Columbus they summoned him to the court at Barcelona, where he was given great honor, being directed to seat himself in their presence, an honor usually bestowed only upon royalty. When the monarchs had received Columbus they immediately sent messengers to the Pope, Alexander VI, who was himself a Spaniard, a native of Valencia in Aragon, and requested that he grant them the Indies, just discovered. Accordingly, on

May 3, 1493, the Pope issued a bull conferring upon the Spanish sovereigns all lands discovered and hereafter to be discovered in the western ocean. In this famous document the Pope states that he has done this "Out of our pure liberality, certain knowledge, and plentitude of apostolic power," and "by virtue of the authority of omnipotent God granted to us in Saint Peter and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we administer upon the earth." On the following day another bull was issued fixing a line of demarcation dividing the Spanish and Portuguese possessions. This line was drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. The first demarcation line, however, did not satisfy Portugal, and in the year 1494 the treaty of Tordesillas was signed between Spain and Portugal moving the line to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. The changing of the original line had far-reaching influence, for the new line touched the coast of South America, and Portugal was thus given a claim on Brazil.

The Papal Bull of
Demarcation

Immediately there was organized a special department of Indian Affairs, with headquarters at Seville, and the Archbishop of Seville was placed in charge. A special Indian customhouse was built at Cadiz; the famous system of colonial control thus begun was to continue for more than three hundred years.

Department of Indian
Affairs Established

Provision for missionary work among the Indians was likewise inaugurated, Columbus having brought back from the Indies six Indians, who were soon baptized, the king and queen standing as godfather and godmother for them. These Indians were to be taught the Spanish tongue and were to serve as interpreters for the priests. A certain Bernardo Boyle was made the Pope's vicar, for the carrying on of this work.

The second voyage of Columbus was primarily a colonizing expedition. In the summer of 1493 fourteen ships for passengers and three for stores were prepared. When the expedition sailed on September 23, there were some fifteen hundred persons on board, among them many *hidalgos*, and such stores as cattle, vines, horses and other things considered necessary to the

founding of a colony. This voyage went also by way of the Canaries, and thence by a straight course to the West Indies,

The Second Voyage
of Columbus, and the
First Spanish Colony

finally sighting the island of Dominica in the Lesser Antilles, on November 3. Sailing through the smaller islands of this group, Columbus found and named several, among them being Guadeloupe and Antigua, and arrived on the north shore of Hispaniola on November 27. On reaching the site of La Navidad, no trace of the thirty-nine men who had made up the colony could be found, though they found chests broken open, and finally nine corpses buried near the fortress. Later Columbus learned that the Spaniards had quarreled among themselves and had mistreated the Indians. Eventually a fierce Indian chief had attacked them and wiped them out of existence, a fate, no doubt, which they richly deserved.

Columbus now proceeded to choose another site for a colony, and fixed upon a place some thirty miles east of La Navidad; there he built a town, naming it Isabella, in honor of his royal patroness, the good Spanish queen. When this had been completed, Columbus left his brother Diego in charge of the colony while he went on an exploring voyage among the islands of the Greater Antilles. In this voyage he sailed westward along the northern shore of Hispaniola until the east end of the island of Cuba was reached. Then, striking the south shore of Cuba, he circumnavigated the Isle of Pines, and then returned by way of the island of Jamaica and the south shore of Hispaniola. On his return Columbus set about to rule the colony. During his absence things had gone badly. The proud *hidalgos*

Founding of Isabella

were unwilling to be governed by these foreigners from Genoa. Soon the other brother, Bartholomew, who some five years previously had gone on the errand to England, arrived in Isabella with several ships loaded with supplies for the colony. He was at once made *adelantado*, or military governor. Fonseca, the head of the new department of Indian affairs in Spain, had become hostile to Columbus and welcomed every tale which came to his ears that was to the admiral's discredit. Indian wars broke out, greatly adding to the difficulties. The crisis came when the two priests headed

a company of discontented colonists, seized the ships in which Bartholomew had come, and departed for Spain. Finally feeling that it was necessary to return to Spain, to present his own side of the colonial situation to the sovereigns, Columbus set sail from Hispaniola in the spring of 1496, arriving in Cadiz in June.

When the admiral reached Spain he was kindly received by the Catholic monarchs and no mention was made of the complaints that had been made against him. In May, 1498, a third expedition set sail under the command of Columbus. He sailed from the little port of San Lucar de Barrameda on May 30, with six vessels. Three of the ships went immediately to the colony, while Columbus with the other three sailed southward to the Cape Verde Islands, then straight westward until the island of Trinidad, off the mouth of the Orinoco, was sighted. This island the pious Columbus named Trinidad because of the three mountain peaks of the island. In the voyage the admiral was searching for the Straits of Malacca, for he still thought he had found Asia in Cuba, and he desired

**The Third Voyage of
Columbus**

to find the way through to the Spice Islands. He coasted along the north shore of South America, sailed into the mouth of the great river Orinoco, found some fine pearls, and then, Columbus being overtaken by a strange stupor, the expedition sailed straight for the colony. Here everything was in a most deplorable condition. An insurrection among the colonists had been started, which was followed by an Indian uprising, and Bartholomew, the governor, instead of punishing the rebels, had made terms with them. At this juncture the admiral made his greatest mistake in sending to Spain a cargo of six hundred Indian slaves. This greatly angered the queen, who looked upon the Indians as the special wards of the crown. When the slaves reached Spain they were at once sent back to the Indies.

This slave venture of Columbus probably decided the sovereigns to investigate affairs in the colony. Accordingly, a special agent, in the person of a certain Bobadilla, was sent out from Spain with instructions to punish offenders and

receive from Columbus and his brothers all fortresses and other property belonging to the government. This was not to be done, however, unless in case of extreme necessity. But no sooner had Bobadilla arrived in the colony than he caused the arrest of Columbus and his brothers without making the slightest investigation. The accusations against Columbus were that he had made sick men work; had starved them; had whipped these starving men for petty stealing; and, finally, had

Arrest of Columbus
and His Return to
Spain in Chains

treated the Indians cruelly, expressly against the queen's command. Heavy chains were placed upon Columbus—treatment which cut

his sensitive nature to the quick. With this cruel and disgraceful treatment the administration of Columbus in this first Spanish colony came to a sad end. Everything considered, the sovereigns were not far wrong in removing Columbus, though, as Fiske suggests, it might have been done in a less brutal way. Columbus was a dreamer rather than an administrator, and his reputation would perhaps have been even greater if he had never attempted the government of this first colony.

On the arrival of the great explorer in Spain, orders were at once issued that he should be released from his chains, and he was promised reimbursement for all his losses, a promise, however, which was never fulfilled. The sovereigns also were magnanimous enough not to take any notice of the accusations which were brought against him. Since the last voyage of Columbus, Da Gama had made his great voyage around Africa, and had returned with his rich cargo. This inspired the Spanish sovereigns to send Columbus upon his fourth and last voyage, in an attempt to find a way to the rich Spice Islands. This last expedition consisted of four small vessels, and set sail from Cadiz on May 11, 1502. The admiral had orders not to land at the colony in Hispaniola, but a disabled ship led him to disobey the command and he attempted a landing at Isabella. He was ordered to leave at once, which he accordingly did in

The Fourth Voyage of
Columbus, 1502-1504

the teeth of a storm, though his ships found safety near by. In this voyage Columbus explored the east coast of Central America,

naming Cape Gracias á Dios, was told by the natives of a

"narrow place," which he interpreted as meaning a strait, and followed the coast to about the eastern end of the Panama Canal. Here he decided to found a colony, but after remaining three months they were driven to sea by famine and misery. One hardship followed another in rapid succession. The ships were wrecked upon the shore of the island of Jamaica, and here Columbus and his men were compelled to remain for a year, enduring in the meantime terrible suffering from hunger and disease. Finally, after long delay, they were rescued by an expedition sent out by Ovando, the governor of Hispaniola, and Columbus reached Spain in November, 1504. The days of his glory were passed, and honor no longer awaited his return to Spain, for the good queen was upon her deathbed, and it was not long until the disappointed and heart-broken admiral followed her to the grave. Columbus died without knowing that he had discovered a new world.

As the news of the discoveries of Columbus and Da Gama and the other early navigators became more widely known, other Portuguese and Spaniards began to plan voyages of discovery. Between 1500 and 1520 no less than twenty expeditions sailed out of Spanish and Portuguese ports, or from the ports of the islands. In 1500 an expedition under the command of Ojeda and La Cosa with Amerigo Vespucci sailed to the north coasts of South America, following more or less the same course pursued by Columbus in his third voyage. In the same year Vincente Pinzon also made a voyage to the northeast coast of Brazil. Lepe, another Spanish navigator, went as far as ten degrees south latitude along the Brazilian coasts. Cabral, a Portuguese, in attempting to sail around Africa, was driven by a storm upon the coast of Brazil, and sailing along the coast to the sixteenth degree south latitude, took possession of the country in the name of his king. Two Spanish navigators, Bastidas and La Cosa, from October, 1500, to September, 1502, sailed along the northern coast of South America and the Isthmus of Panama. In the same year a Portuguese, Nuno Manuel, explored the Brazilian coast to the thirty-fourth degree south latitude, and discovered the island of Georgia. Two other

Voyages of Discovery
Between 1500 and 1520

Portuguese ships sailed to the Brazilian coast between 1503 and 1504, while two Spanish voyages were made, between 1507 and 1509, to the same region. In 1508 Ocampo circumnavigated Cuba, thus disproving the belief held by Columbus that it was a part of Asia. In 1513 Ponce de Leon explored the coasts of Florida, while in the same year Balboa crossed the isthmus and discovered the Pacific. After the discovery of the Pacific, navigators realized that there was another western ocean to cross before the Spice Islands could be reached, and it gradually dawned upon them that it was a new world which had been found.

Between 1517 and 1519 several exploring voyages were sent out along the Mexican coast, from the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba. The Yucatan peninsula was circumnavigated and the general nature of the coast of Central America was learned. In 1519 the great Portuguese navigator, Magellan, sailing under the flag of Spain, started on his voyage to circumnavigate the earth with five ships and some two hundred and seventy men. In the fall of 1520 he sailed through the Straits which bear his name. When he reached the Philippines, of which he took possession in the name of Spain, he was killed in a fight with the natives. One of his ships, the Victoria, however, finally sailed into the harbor from which it had started nearly three years previously with a cargo of spices. This voyage of Magellan revealed the fact that the earth was much larger than had been supposed, and from henceforth the Spanish navigators more and more turned their attention to America, giving up the search for a way through to the East Indies.

So far the Spanish voyages had not been profitable from the standpoint of financial return. In striking contrast were the voyages of the Portuguese, which were extremely profitable from the first. From the return of Da Gama from his great voyage with a rich cargo of spices there began for Portugal a period of great prosperity, the greatest in Portuguese history. Immediately large Portuguese fleets began to go to the East Indies, returning with rich cargoes, and Lisbon soon became one of the

Magellan
Circumnavigates the
Globe

Portuguese and
Spanish Voyages
Contrasted

busiest ports in the world. It was not, however, until the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru came into Spanish possession that Spain received any great financial returns from her discoveries.

Among the navigators who went on voyages of discovery during these years was an Italian merchant, Amerigo Vespucci. He had been sent out to Seville in 1492 by the great Florentine mercantile house of the De Medici as their representative. He soon became greatly interested in the discoveries that were being made by the Spanish and Portuguese navigators. In 1499 this Italian agent accompanied an expedition to the north coast of South America. It is also known that he went on three other voyages, but in every case he was not the chief personage, and was never more than of secondary importance. The way in which the name of this merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, became prominent was as follows: When he returned from these voyages

How America Was
Named

he wrote accounts of them in Latin, and in these writings he made himself seem the chief personage. These accounts were not only read in Spain but throughout Europe. In this way his name came to be more intimately connected with the new discoveries than even that of Columbus. Vespucci also had called the land discovered "Novus Mundus" ("New World"), while Columbus had simply spoken of it as the Indies. Finally, in 1507, three years after the death of Columbus, Waldseemüller, a professor in the college of Saint Die, published a geography, and on the map of the new land he placed the name "America." Other map-makers followed his example, and thus the name became permanently attached to the new continents. This was an honor which Amerigo Vespucci certainly did not deserve, but, strange to say, there were few protests. Even Ferdinand Columbus when he wrote the life of his father in 1539 seemed to be unaware that the real discoverer had been eclipsed.

The net result of Spanish and Portuguese voyaging in the western ocean between the years 1492 and 1520 was as follows: All the larger islands of the West Indies had been discovered, their coast lines mapped, and colonies had been planted upon them; the eastern coast line of South America down as far

as the Rio de La Plata was fairly well known both to the Spanish and Portuguese; the north coast of South America and the coasts bordering on the Gulf of Mexico had been explored, and a colony founded on the Isthmus. The Spanish and Portuguese navigators had proved themselves to be both hardy and resourceful in the discovery of new sea routes and new lands, and we are now to see what kind of colonizers they were, as we trace the planting of their colonies upon these new-found coasts.

Results of the First
Decade of Spanish
and Portuguese
Voyaging

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CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIZATION OF THE ISLANDS AND THE ISTHMUS

THE colonization of Latin America may be considered under four divisions: (1) The Colonization of the Islands and the Isthmus; (2) The Conquests of Mexico, Peru, Chile; (3) The Founding of the Agricultural Colonies of Spain: Venezuela, Colombia, and La Plata; and (4) The Portuguese Colonization of Brazil. We plan to take up these phases in order, devoting a chapter to each. The first phase of Latin colonization in the New World was the founding of colonies upon the larger islands of the West Indies. From the West Indies attempts to found colonies upon the mainland of Central and South America followed. After this came the conquests of Mexico, Peru, and Chile; the Mexican conquest proceeded from Cuba; the Peruvian conquest from the colony on the mainland, while the conquerors of Chile set out from Peru. The third phase of colonization was the planting of colonies in the nonmineral-producing sections of South America. Spain cared little about these nonmineral-producing colonies and she neglected them throughout the colonial period. The fourth phase of Latin-American colonization was the planting of Portuguese settlements in Brazil, which must be discussed in a separate chapter.

Plan for the Discussion of Colonization

COLONIZATION OF THE ISLANDS

Spanish colonization properly begins in January, 1493, with the founding of La Navidad, on the north shore of Hispaniola, when Columbus left thirty-nine sailors from the wrecked Santa Maria. We have already noticed what fate befell this little colony. The second voyage of Columbus was the first real colonization expedition to sail out of Spain. Fifteen hundred people were shipped and all things thought necessary for the

planting of a full-fledged colony. The site selected for this enterprise was on the north shore of Hispaniola, some thirty

**The Founding of
Isabella** miles east of La Navidad, and was named Isabella in honor of the queen. According to

the agreement between Columbus and his sovereigns, he was to be the governor of the colony. Columbus, however, was not a successful ruler. His two brothers, Diego and Bartholomew, came out to the colony, and both received positions of influence, much to the disgust of the haughty Spanish *hidalgos*, who looked with ill-disguised dislike upon the advancement of these Italian adventurers. The two priests Margarite and Boyle led a discontented group back to Spain, and rumors of the disorganized condition of the colony

**Administration of
Columbus** kept finding their way back to the ears of the wily head of the new Council of the Indies. The net outcome of the administration of Columbus was a sad failure. In 1500 Bobadilla was sent out by the sovereigns to relieve Columbus of his duties, and for a year and a half he governed the colony.

The real successor, however, of Columbus as governor of Hispaniola was Nicolas de Ovando, who came out to the colony in September, 1501. He remained in charge until 1506. Ovando was a distinguished knight of the order of Alcantara and was highly thought of in Spain. His administration, however, is chiefly distinguished by the extreme cruelty with which

**The Government
Under Ovando** he treated the Indians. The system known as the *encomienda*, by which land and Indians were partitioned out among the Span-

iards, got well started under this administration. As we have seen, Columbus had desired to enslave the Indians, but so long as Queen Isabella lived these attempts had failed. No sooner, however, was the good queen dead than the enslavement of the Indians went on at an amazing rate. It was not long until Hispaniola and the surrounding islands were denuded of their native populations.

Ovando's successor was Diego Columbus, the youngest son of the great admiral. He had married the niece of King Ferdinand, Maria de Toledo, and had succeeded in having restored

to him the rights and dignities of his famous father. He and his royal wife came out to Hispaniola in 1509. There is little evidence that things improved much under Diego,

Diego Columbus,
Governor of
Hispaniola

for we are told that among the first acts of his administration was the giving of new

Repartimientos to himself and wife and to other royal favorites. It was during his administration that a ship bearing the first Dominican friars arrived in the island, and with their coming agitation was begun which finally resulted in the attempt to protect the Indians by the importation of African Negroes. This new policy had far-reaching influence, not only upon the West Indian colonies of Spain, but upon the English colonies of North America.

In the meantime the island of Porto Rico, which had been sighted by Columbus in his second voyage, had been colonized. In 1508 Governor Ovando had sent Ponce de León to explore the island, and in the next year he was made the governor, and a settlement was established near the present site of San Juan, which received the name Caparra. Ponce de León was removed from the governorship by Diego Columbus, and Juna

The Settlement of
Porto Rico

Ceron was appointed. Under this governor a series of settlements was made in the north of the island, and the same system of ruth-

less enslavement of the Indians was pursued as in Hispaniola. In 1520 there was an attempt to save the Indians by the Dominicans, but their influence was not sufficient to deliver them from the savage and rapacious Spaniard. By the end of the sixteenth century the race of natives had disappeared from the island. Negro slavery was introduced in 1530. The town San Juan was founded in 1520, the first settlement being abandoned at the same time because of its unhealthy situation. Porto Rico was never prosperous, due largely to the character of the settlers.

No attempt was made to plant a colony on Cuba during the lifetime of Columbus. In 1511, however, in the administration of Diego Columbus, a movement was set in motion to occupy Cuba, largely for the purpose of finding gold. Diego Columbus appointed Don Diego Velásquez commander of a force to con-

quer the island. The Indians in Cuba were similar to those on the island of Hispaniola, and were, at first, kindly disposed toward the Spaniards. Velásquez was a man of considerable means, being possessed of large estates in Hispaniola. The expedition of Velásquez landed upon the shore of Cuba, and

Colonization of Cuba immediately the slaughter of the Indians began. Their naked bodies and poor weapons were no match for the weapons and armor of their enemies; they were soon put to flight, and the Spaniards proceeded to kill men, women, and children in the most cruel and heartless way. Those that were not slaughtered were tied together and driven before the conquerors like cattle to be distributed among the settlers. One of the chiefs in the eastern part of Cuba, Hatuey by name, was captured and was sentenced to be burned alive. The priests prepared him for his death, and exhorted him to be baptized in order that he might go to heaven. He asked if the Spaniards would go to heaven, and when told that they would he replied that he had no desire to go to such a place.

Among those who assisted in the populating and pacification of Cuba was Narváez, whom Velásquez made his lieutenant. Narváez had come from the island of Jamaica, which had also by this time been occupied by the Spaniards. With Narváez came also Las Casas, who was destined to occupy a great and honorable place in the conquest of these islands, and whose protests against cruelty to the Indians, and whose constant work in their behalf throughout his whole life are the only part of this story which deserves commendation.

Within three years the island of Cuba was conquered, and Velásquez, now appointed governor, proceeded to found various towns, according to Spanish fashion. In 1514 Trinidad, Santa Espíritu, and Puerto Principe were founded; the next year Santiago de Cuba and Habana. This was according to the

The Founding of Spanish Towns in Cuba Spanish method of colony-building. No sooner was a country occupied than the conquistador proceeded to found a town, generally giving it a pious name. Thus such names as Trinidad,

Santa Espiritu, Vera Cruz occur over and over again in Latin-American geography. The Spaniard did not see any inconsistency in ruthlessly slaughtering the natives and then founding a town with a pious name. He was doing it all in the name of his holy religion, and for the honor of his blessed Saviour.

FIRST COLONIES ON THE MAINLAND

By 1515 the Spaniards had occupied and colonized all the larger of the West India islands. While these Spanish adventurers were conquering and settling the islands, others were equally busy attempting the more difficult task of occupying the mainland. The very year Diego Columbus came out to Hispaniola with his royal wife, two expeditions set out from the new port of Santo Domingo, in Hispaniola, to found colonies on the mainland. The leaders of these expeditions were Ojeda and Nicuesa. Ojeda was a daredevil adventurer, a type

Ojeda and Nicuesa
Obtain Grants to
Plant Colonies on the
Mainland

with which Spain was well supplied at this time. He was a man of great personal courage and daring, but with little ability to command men. He had, however, powerful

connections in Spain. Nicuesa was also of good birth, a courtier with powerful connections. He had come to Hispaniola with Governor Ovando and had been successful in acquiring great wealth. King Ferdinand had determined to found colonies upon the mainland of South America, and both Ojeda and Nicuesa, learning of this, desired to be made governor of the new colony. To avoid the dilemma of deciding between the two applicants, the king divided the territory and appointed each governor over a separate province. Ojeda was granted the north coast of South America, from the Gulf of Darién to Cape de la Vela, while to Nicuesa was granted the territory from Cape Gracias á Dios to the Gulf of Darién, the river of Darién being the boundary between the colonies.

In November, 1509, Ojeda sailed from Santo Domingo with four ships and three hundred men. He landed at the present site of Carthagena and, Spanish fashion, immediately began a war of extermination against the Indians, whom he found particularly warlike, and versed in the use of poisoned arrows.

Juan de la Cosa, second in command, was killed, and Ojeda and his band were finally routed. Proceeding westward, he finally founded a colony on the Gulf of Darién, which received the name "San Sebastian." Here the Spaniards succeeded in stealing some gold from the Indians and took some Indian captives. These were sent to Hispaniola. The colonists spent their time looking for gold, paid little attention to their food supply, and it was not long before famine began to stare them in the face. Finally, Ojeda determined to go in search of provisions, leaving Francisco Pizarro in command of the colony. Before leaving, Ojeda made an agreement that if he did not return within fifty days the colonists were to have the privilege of going where they pleased.

The Founding of San
Sebastian

In a stolen Genoese ship Ojeda left his starving colony, destined never to return. A few days afterward he was wrecked upon the shore of Cuba, and for days he and his weakened men stumbled along the swampy shore. After almost incredible hardships they at last succeeded in reaching Jamaica, and from thence made their way to Hispaniola. In the meantime the desperate colonists at San Sebastian decided to leave that coast. They killed their horses for food and embarked in two

Founding of Santa
Maria del Darién

ships, one commanded by Pizarro. The other ship was sunk, supposedly by a great fish, but the one commanded by Pizarro put in at the present harbor of Carthagena, where they met another vessel, which proved to be a relief expedition under the command of Fernández de Encisco. With Encisco was Vasco Núñez de Balboa, who had come on board as a castaway, hiding from his creditors. In spite of the protests of Pizarro and his men, Encisco sailed for the site of the abandoned colony of San Sebastian. The ship, however, was wrecked, and the company saved themselves only after the greatest danger. Proceeding on foot, along the shore, fighting the Indians as they went, they finally came to the west side of the Gulf of Darién, where they founded another colony, which received the name Santa Maria del Darién.

The site of this new colony was in territory granted to

Nicuesa. While the Ojeda colony was undergoing these various bitter experiences, Nicuesa sailed for his province on the Isthmus of Panama, with seven hundred colonists. The hardships which had been encountered by Ojeda and his men were duplicated by Nicuesa's men. In making their way up the Isthmus from the south, Nicuesa was separated from his followers, and for a time was left alone on a desert island. Finally, rejoining his men, a colony was established on the Isthmus. Here hunger soon drove them to plunder the Indian villages, and on one occasion they were even forced to cannibalism. At length they determined to abandon Veragua, the site of their

**The Nicuesa Colony
on the Isthmus**

first colony. In December, 1510, they set sail eastward; they passed Porto Bello, which had been so named by Columbus, and, reaching another harbor, the company cried out in their weariness, "In the name of God [*"en nombre de Dios"*] let us stay here!" So there they landed, built a wooden fort, and to this day the name "*Nombre de Dios*" is given to this place. Of the seven hundred colonists with whom Nicuesa started only one hundred remained alive when the fort at *Nombre de Dios* was completed, and not one in the company was found strong enough to act as sentinel. Meanwhile the men at Santa Maria, remnants of the Ojeda colony, having come into the territory of Nicuesa, decided to elect him their governor. Nicuesa, however, had become extremely harsh, due to his own suffering. When he attempted to take command of the colony at Darién he was refused a landing, and with seventeen men was set adrift in a rotten vessel and was never heard of again.

Vasco Núñez de Balboa now became the head of the united colony. He at once began to explore the Isthmus. He also made alliances with the Indians, even accepting a bride from the daughters of one of the chiefs. It was while he was in close association with the Indians that he learned, through a speech made by one of the Indian caciques, of the existence of a great sea and a golden kingdom to the south. This was in 1512, and the next spring Balboa was made captain-general of Darién. Early in September of the next year he got together a com-

**Balboa Discovers the
Pacific, 1513**

pany of two hundred men and started across to find the great sea. On September 25, from the top of the highest range of mountains on the Isthmus, he looked down upon the Pacific, and as we are told by a Spanish chronicler, he gave thanks to God who had permitted such a lowly person as himself to find the great main sea. But it took four days of the most arduous toil to make his way to the shores of that great sea. On reaching the shore Balboa walked out into the water and took possession of the new-found ocean in the name of the king of Spain. After naming the gulf San Miguel he conquered the Indians on the shore, and then won them over by kind treatment. After recovering from a severe attack of fever he again reached Darién in January, 1514, his expedition having occupied four months.

While Balboa was performing the great service of discovering the Pacific things were going badly for him in Spain. Encisco had returned home and made serious complaint of him at court. Balboa sent a messenger of his own to the king telling the good news of the discovery of the great Pacific, but unfortunately the messenger reached the court too late to serve his master's interests. Balboa was removed from the governorship of Darién and there were many applicants for the position, for news had come to Spain of the wonders of Terra Firma. The coveted place was finally given to Pedrárias de Ávila, a

Pedrárias as Governor
of Darién

man of high rank, though he was at the time over seventy years of age. He arrived in Darién with a fleet and some fifteen hundred

colonists in June, 1514. Balboa received him respectfully, but a quarrel soon rose between them, resulting in the imprisonment of the former governor. However, peace finally was established, and an expedition was planned under the command of Balboa to find the golden kingdom to the south. This was the first definite plan to search for Peru. Just as the expedition was about to sail Pedrárias de Ávila, having suspected Balboa of treason, sent Pizarro to arrest the explorer. This was accomplished, and, after a summary trial, Balboa was condemned to die and was beheaded in 1517.

Thus perished three of the greatest conquistadores of Spain.

Ojeda, after untold suffering, died in a Franciscan monastery in Hispaniola; Nicuesa was lost at sea, after having experienced the agony of starvation; Balboa was unjustly executed at the hands of a jealous rival. But in that first colony on the mainland there was yet left one who was to play a conspicuous part in the Spanish occupation of South America, namely, Francisco Pizarro.

During the first twenty years of Spanish occupation of the New World colonies had been established on all the larger of the West India islands—Hispaniola, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Jamaica—while the native populations of these islands had either been subjected or destroyed. Numerous towns had been founded, and a definite form of colonial government had been devised. After overcoming the most extreme hardships, a colony on the Isthmus had at last been established. So far, however, the Spaniard had received little return from his discoveries or colonial ventures. The amount of gold among the Indians of the islands and the Isthmus had not been large, so the first twenty years of Spanish colonial history were a financial loss to the Spanish monarchs, but it was not long until the returns from the Spanish colonies were to be the astonishment and envy of the world.

Summary of the First
Period of Spanish
Colonization

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CHAPTER V

THE CONQUESTS OF MEXICO, PERU, AND CHILE

AFTER the founding of colonies on the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hispaniola, a very profitable trade in Indian slaves was begun, for labor was in great demand on the plantations of the conquistadores. In 1517 an expedition, consisting of three vessels, one of them furnished by Velásquez, started from Cuba in search of slaves. The commander of this expedition was Hernandez de Cordoba. They sailed westward from Habana, and were driven by a storm upon the shores of the peninsula of Yucatan. Here they found a much higher type of civilization than the Spaniards had yet seen. After engaging in several fierce fights with these semicivilized people, in one of which Cordoba was wounded, they returned to Cuba, taking

The First Expeditions
to Yucatan, and the
Shores of Mexico

with them some native gold and some golden images which they had stolen from a native temple. Soon after their return Cordoba died

of his wound, but the gold he had brought incited Velásquez to send out another expedition. This was placed under the command of the governor's nephew, Juan de Grijalva. There were four vessels and two hundred and fifty soldiers. Sailing from Santiago de Cuba in April, 1518, they came first to the island of Cozumel, just off the coast of Yucatan. They coasted around the peninsula and on up the Mexican coast to about the present site of Vera Cruz. At this place Grijalva sent back one of his captains, Alvarado, with a shipload of sick men, while he continued up the coast to about where the present city of Tampico stands. Touching at the shore from time to time, they came in contact with the native population, and at one place were visited by a taxgatherer of the great Montezuma, who told the Spaniards of the glories of the kingdom of the Aztecs, and of the great quantity of gold it contained. Flushed by this news, thinking that he had found the Great Khan himself, Grijalva returned to Cuba, hoping

that soon he would be sent on another expedition to explore and perhaps conquer this rich and splendid kingdom. But these hopes were not to be realized.

On Grijalva's return to Cuba he learned that his uncle, the governor, had been poisoned against him by Alvarado, and although another expedition was speedily organized, he was not given the command, but to another, Hernando Cortés, fell the good fortune of its leadership. Cortés was the *alcalde* of

Hernando Cortés

Santiago de Cuba, having come out to Hispaniola in 1504, where he had been given land and Indians. When Velásquez went to Cuba at the head of the conquering expedition, Cortés had been appointed his adviser and executive officer. The governor of Cuba and Cortés quarreled, but when Cortés married the sister-in-law of the governor the misunderstanding was allayed, and he was appointed *alcalde* of Santiago. Velásquez, however, never ceased to be deeply suspicious and jealous of Cortés.

When Cortés received his commission as commander of the third expedition to Mexico he at once threw his whole soul into the undertaking. He spent all his money, and even mortgaged his estate to raise funds for the great enterprise. On November 18, 1518, six vessels sailed out of the harbor of

The Third Expedition

Santiago, and, coasting along the shore of Cuba, other vessels joined the expedition, until finally there were twelve ships. On these ships were 508 soldiers, 109 sailors, about 200 Cuban Indians, and a few native women, several Negro slaves, and 16 horses, which were destined to play an important part in the conquest. Among the soldiers were 32 crossbowmen and 13 men carrying firelocks, while the remainder were armed only with swords and spears. The artillery consisted of 10 bronze cannon and 4 falconets.

Landing first on the little island of Cozumel, they were met by Aguilar, a Spaniard who had lived eight years among the Indians, and who proved of great value to the expedition, through his ability to speak the native tongues. Early in March, 1519, the fleet set sail from Cozumel and made its way up the Mexican coast, arriving at San Juan de Ulloa early

in April. Here a landing was made and an encampment formed, and Cortés proceeded to send messengers with presents to Montezuma, the ruler of the Aztec empire. On Easter day the Aztec chief of the territory in which the Spaniards were encamped came to see Cortés, bringing with him as

The Spaniards Come in Contact with Montezuma presents a great load of cotton cloth, fine featherwork mantles, and baskets filled with gold ornaments. When Montezuma received

the reports regarding the strangers he decided to send an embassy to them with rich presents, and at the same time to forbid their approach to the capital. This embassy consisted of two hundred nobles and a hundred slaves, and as presents to the Spaniards they brought shields and helmets embossed with pure gold, gold ornaments, richly ornamented garments strung with gold threads and pearls, imitations of birds and animals in gold and silver, cotton robes, fine as silk; and among the other articles was a Spanish helmet filled with grains of gold to the brim. The greatest gift, however, was two large circular plates, one of gold and the other of silver, as large as wagon wheels, covered with richly carved plants and birds. These great plates were valued at 20,000 pesos de ora (gold), or about \$233,400. Naturally enough, these rich presents aroused the cupidity of the Spaniards as never before.

While these interesting events were taking place trouble was brewing for Cortés. The friends of the governor of Cuba began to accuse him of disloyalty, and they soon announced their intention of returning to Cuba. Cortés immediately disarmed all suspicion by offering to return himself, which, of course, greatly displeased those who desired to stay in the country and reap a rich harvest. These protests were so loud that Cortés finally agreed to postpone his departure and proposed, instead, the founding of a colony in the name of the Spanish sovereign. This scheme was adopted,

Founding of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz

Cortés appointed officers for the new town, and shortly afterward these officers elected

the wily Cortés captain-general and chief justice of the new colony. Thus Cortés freed himself from any technical control of Velásquez, while he obtained supreme civil and military

control. After this had been accomplished the friends of Velásquez broke out in indignant protest, but, using his new authority, Cortés threw them into irons and they were sent to the ships. This threatened mutiny, however, did not last long, for such was the power of Cortés over men that he was soon able to win them all over to his side once more.

Not long after this another plot was revealed, which was to seize a vessel and sail for Cuba, this movement being headed by the priest Juan Diaz. The plot was discovered only the night before the conspirators were to sail. This led Cortés to take a step which for boldness had few equals in the annals of adventure. He determined to cut off all retreat from Mexico by destroying the fleet. Cortés gave as an excuse to his men that the ships were unseaworthy. After removing the anchors, sails, and cables, the ships were burned.

Before we follow Cortés and his little band of adventurers from the coast to the capital of the Aztec empire we should know something of the condition of this remarkable civilization, which the Spaniards were soon so ruthlessly to overthrow. So far as is known, the first people to occupy the territory about the present City of Mexico were the Toltecs, who flourished in the sixth century. The Toltecs were followed by a ruder people, and they in turn by tribes of a higher grade of culture, the Aztecs, the Tezcucans, and the Tepenacs. These tribes made war upon one another, until finally an alliance was made between them. They settled down around the group of salt lakes in the center of Mexico, and each built their respective capital, namely, Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, in or near these lakes. By the middle of the fifteenth century these confederated tribes began to make conquests across the moun-

Condition of Mexico
at the Time of the
Coming of the
Spaniards

tains to the east, and under the rule of Montezuma I they spread toward the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards the ruler of the

confederacy was Montezuma II, the grandson of Montezuma I. He had been selected as emperor in 1502, and because of arrogance and assumed pomp was very unpopular. Taxation of the newly conquered territories was very heavy, and a number

of them were ready to rebel at the slightest provocation. This was a great factor in the success of the conquest by the Spaniards. The most formidable enemies of the Aztecs were the Tlascalans, a tribe lying about half way between Mexico and the coast. These people had maintained their independence for several centuries, and their military power was but very little below that of the Aztecs.

The form of government of the Aztec empire was an elective monarchy, the electors being four noblemen, chosen from among the nobles to perform this service. The sovereigns were always chosen from among the brothers or the nephews of the deceased monarch. The monarch lived in Oriental splendor. He had councils to aid him in the government, and his palace was provided with various halls in which these bodies sat. The legislative power was vested solely in the monarch. There was also a highly developed judicial system, there being a chief judge for each principal city and its dependencies. The laws of the Aztecs were registered in the picture-writing. The chief crimes against society were punishable by death. An adulterer, as among the Jews, was stoned to death, and the institution of marriage was held in great reverence. Revenue was raised by taxation, which was levied upon agricultural and manufactured articles, and was paid in kind, there being no medium of exchange. The taxes

Government, Laws,
and Religion of the
Aztecs

were gathered by regularly constituted tax-gatherers, who wore official badges. The religion of this interesting people was a "mixture of enlightened belief and dark superstition." They believed in a supreme Creator, whom they addressed as "the God by whom we live," "without whom man is nothing," etc. Besides the supreme God they had many other gods, who presided over the seasons and various occupations. Among these were thirteen special deities, the most interesting of which was Quetzalcoatl, the god of the air, who was called the Fair God. During the residence of this god upon the earth the country prospered. According to Aztec tradition, this god was compelled to leave the country, but when he departed he promised to revisit the land at some future time, and to his

return the people confidently looked forward. This tradition proved of much benefit to the Spaniards, for, coming from the east, they were thought to be the representatives of the Fair God. Although the religion of the Aztecs was in many respects an enlightened faith, it was particularly repulsive to the Spaniards because of the prevalence of human sacrifices. The country abounded in temples, which were constructed upon great mounds. In the temple proper was a great sacrificial stone, upon which human beings were placed; their breasts were opened by stone knives, and their hearts torn out. The number of human sacrifices has probably been exaggerated, but undoubtedly many hundreds perished each year as victims of this gross superstition.¹

On August 16, 1519, immediately after the destruction of the fleet, Cortés started toward the capital of the Aztec empire, which was situated on an island in the largest of the inland lakes. He had succeeded in making an alliance with a coast tribe, the Totonacs, and in his force were 1,300 Indian warriors, as well as several hundred others who were useful in dragging the cannon and transporting the baggage. He now had about 400 Spaniards, 15 horses, and 7 cannon. The journey was without special incident until they came to the territory of the unconquered Tlascalans. Cortés sent an embassy to the Tlascalans, requesting that he be permitted to pass through their territory, but without avail. After several

The March to Mexico severe engagements with these fierce warriors, the Spaniards at last succeeded in bringing them to terms, and an alliance was made with them. As described by Cortés, the city of Tlascala was much larger than Granada; there were many houses of cut stone, public baths, and other indications of an advanced stage of civilization. After a sojourn of twenty days at Tlascala the Spaniards continued their march, the next stop being at Cholula, the sacred city of the Aztecs. Here Cortés discovered a plot to destroy the Spaniards. Gathering the Indians in great numbers in the public square of the city, he turned his cannon upon

¹ According to Bernal Diaz, who was with Cortés, there were 100,000 human skulls in a receptacle in one of the suburbs of Cempoalla.

them. It has been variously estimated that from six hundred to six thousand Indians perished in this slaughter. Leaving the city of blood, the Spaniards climbed to the ridge of the mountains inclosing the capital cities. While still some twenty miles away they caught their first view of the splendid valley of Mexico and its group of salt lakes and remarkable temples.

At last the little band of adventurers encamped on the edge of the lake, in the center of which stood the Aztec capital, connected with the shore by stone causeways. "Who shall describe Mexico of the Age? It ought to be one who has seen all the wonders of the world. . . . The especial attributes of the most beautiful cities in the world were here conjoined; and that which was the sole boast of many a world-renowned name formed but one of the charms of this enchanted among cities. . . . Like Granada, encircled but not frowned upon by mountains; fondled and adorned by water, like Venice; as grand in its buildings as Babylon of old; and rich with gardens like Damascus; the City of Mexico was at

The City of Mexico ' that time the fairest in the world, and has never since been equaled. . . . She was not only the city of a great king but an industrious and thriving people. Mexico was situated in a great salt lake, communicating with a fresh-water lake. It was approached by three principal causeways—constructed by solid masonry, which, to use the picturesque language of the Spaniards, were two lances in breadth."¹ One of these causeways was two leagues in length and another a league and a half. These principal causeways united in the middle of the city where stood the great temple. In Montezuma's palace there was a room where three thousand persons could be easily accommodated, and in the city was a market place where fifty thousand people could buy and sell, while the great temple which stood in the center of the city occupied a space twenty times as great as the market place.

It was on November 8, 1519, that the Spaniards entered this magnificent city, by way of the south causeway. As they entered they were met by a thousand nobles, and then came Montezuma himself. The Spaniards were assigned quarters in

¹ Sir Arthur Helps, *Spanish Conquests of America*.

a council house, where Cortés at once took the precaution to place guards. Soon after entering the city Cortés decided to get control of the person of Montezuma. This stroke had to be accomplished by deceit, but Cortés was fully equal to it. Learning of an attack which had been made upon the Spaniards at Vera Cruz, Cortés went to Montezuma and accused him of inciting it. This Montezuma denied, but Cortés told

Spaniards Seize
Montezuma

the monarch that it would be necessary for him to come and stay in the same house with the Spaniards until the affair had been cleared up. Thus Cortés obtained possession of the person of the Aztec ruler, who was never to regain his liberty. A plot to release Montezuma was discovered by the Spaniards. The person responsible for it, the nephew of the ruler, who was king of Tezcuco, was captured and executed. Montezuma was now persuaded to declare his vassalage to the king of Spain, and one of the first things demanded was the payment of a great quantity of gold, amounting, according to modern calculation, to something near \$7,000,000. Cortés also took good care to find out where this supply of gold came from.

While these things had been taking place in Mexico, another expedition, of eighteen vessels and some twelve hundred soldiers, under the command of Narváez, had been sent out from Cuba by the suspicious governor. When Cortés learned of the landing of this large force in Mexico (in the spring of 1520) he immediately left Mexico, with seventy soldiers, leaving the forces under the command of Alvarado. It was the plan of Cortés to surprise Narváez while his army was scattered. This he accomplished, even capturing Narváez himself. After this remarkable feat Cortés persuaded practically the whole force of Narváez to join his expedition. Meanwhile things in Mexico had gone badly. While a brave warrior, Alvarado was a poor commander, lacking the craft and skill which Cortés possessed in such a high degree. Fearing an onslaught of the natives, Alvarado decided to attack them first, choosing their great spring festival as the time for the onslaught. In the fight which followed some six hundred Aztecs were killed. In return the Spaniards were besieged by the natives, and when

Cortés returned he found the streets of the city deserted, the market place closed, and the whole city had taken on a deserted appearance.

There followed a fearful attack by the Aztecs. Having been deposed by his people, Montezuma no longer exercised a restraining influence over them. With awful fury they threw themselves upon the Spaniards. Cortés attempted to allay their wrath by sending out Montezuma to address them, but this was of no avail. In contempt they stoned their deposed emperor. He was struck upon the head and died a few days later, on June 30, 1520. Finally Cortés decided to leave the city, and on July 1 the retreat began. That night is known as "la noche triste" among the Spaniards, so great was the slaughter. Cortés started from the city with 1,250

La Noche Triste

Spaniards, 5,000 Tlascalans, and 80 horses.

When the next morning dawned there were left but 500 Spaniards, 2,000 Tlascalans, and 20 horses; all his cannon were in the lake, and forty Spaniards were in the clutches of the Mexicans, doomed to be sacrificed to Mexican war gods. A few days after the withdrawal Indians from the neighboring towns attacked the Spaniards, but this time Cortés was able to defeat them, which served to hold the allegiance of the Tlascalans, who had been on the verge of defection.

After such an experience as had befallen Cortés the ordinary leader would have withdrawn from the country, but not so with this adventurer par excellence. He proceeded to gather re-enforcements wherever he could. Between July and December, 1520, he gathered about him great forces, won from the surrounding populations. He built boats on the lakes. The four ships which had brought the force of Narváez he sent to Hispaniola; they returned with horses, men, ammunition, and arms. By Christmas he was ready once more to attack the City of Mexico. His army now numbered 700 infantry, 118 arquebusiers, 86 cavalry, a dozen cannon, and several thousand Indian allies. It was on Christmas Day, 1520, that the reconquest

The Reconquest of Mexico

of Mexico began. This time he proceeded to attack and conquer the cities around the lakes before proceeding to the

great central city. This had been accomplished by spring, and on April 28 the siege of Mexico began. The fighting lasted until August 13, 1521. The fresh-water supply of the city was cut off, and gradually, inch by inch, the Spaniards worked their way toward the city, until finally all native resistance was at an end. The canals and footways were filled with dead Indians and the magnificent city lay a hopeless mass of ruins. An eyewitness of the capture of Mexico thus describes it: "It is true and I swear, Amen, that all the lake and the houses and the barbicans were full of the bodies and heads of the dead men, so that I do not know how I may describe it. For in the streets, and in the very courts of Tlaltelulco, there were no other things, and we could not walk except among the bodies and heads of dead Indians."

Soon after the fall of the city Cortés decided to make it his capital, and he proceeded to reconstruct it, using for the purpose the Indians of the valley. Within four years a new city had risen upon the ruins of the Aztec capital. The plan of the new metropolis, the city Cortés rebuilt, followed that of the old, though there was considerable change in the style of architecture. While the city was being rebuilt enemies of the conqueror were active at court, Cortés for some reason having gained the dislike of Fonseca, the head of the department of the Indies. Another captain-general was sent out, whom the Spaniards in Mexico refused to receive; finally, after an investigation, the accusations against Cortés were dropped and he was appointed governor, captain-general, and chief justice of New Spain.

Cortés was not content with the conquest of the empire of Montezuma alone, but immediately began to send out other expeditions to explore and conquer the territory to the south. Fleets were sent out to explore the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico, while Cortés selected Pedro de Alvarado to lead a land expedition to conquer Guatemala. Alvarado left Mexico in December, 1523, with a large force, and after several severe contests with the Indians he succeeded in founding a town to which he gave the name of Santiago de Guatemala. The

Administration of
Cortés

next year (1524) Cortés sent out another expedition under one of his veterans, Cristóbal de Olid, to conquer Honduras. When Olid proved false to Cortés, the latter himself led an expedition to Honduras. About this same time the governor of Darién, Pedrarias de Ávila began to send out expeditions northward. One such expedition was under the command of González Dávila, who succeeded in reaching the interior of what is now Nicaragua in 1522, where he came in contact with a wise old Indian chief whose name, Nicaragua, was later given to the country. Within the next decade Costa Rica was given as a royal grant to Diego Gutiérrez, and Francisco de Montejo, another Spanish conqueror, overran Yucatan.

II. THE CONQUEST OF PERU

We have already noticed the founding of permanent colonies on the isthmus, and the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa. In the year 1519 the city of Panama was founded on the Pacific side of the isthmus. Soon afterward a rude road was cut across, connecting Nombre de Dios and Panama. In some of his earlier exploring expeditions Balboa had learned of the existence of a great kingdom to the southward. He had planned an expedition in that direction, having carried vessels piecemeal across the isthmus, and had collected three hundred men, when the accusations and treachery of Pedrarias cut short his career. In 1522 the first attempt to reach Peru was undertaken by Pascual de Andagoya, but he did not get beyond the limits of the discoveries of Balboa. After the circumnavigation of the globe had been accomplished by Magellan, the attention of the Spaniards was turned decidedly southward, and it was not long until the golden kingdom to the south began to arouse much interest.

' After the failure of Andagoya's voyage a partnership was formed between Francisco Pizarro, whom we have already met in the Ojeda colony, an illegitimate son of a Spanish officer; Almagro, a daredevil of fiery disposition and unknown parentage; and Luque, a priest of Panama, who served as a sort of

The Conquest of
Central America

First Steps in the
Conquest of Peru

financial agent of the undertaking. The first expedition of the partners started about November 15, 1524, under the command of Pizarro. There were two vessels, though they did not sail together. This expedition returned in a very dilapidated condition, having proceeded only as far south as the San Juan River. Immediately a second voyage was contemplated, though considerable difficulty was experienced in getting under way, due to the opposition of the governor, Pedrárias. Two vessels were again purchased and a hundred and sixty men and a few horses collected. In 1526 they sailed as far south as the San Juan; here Pizarro landed with most

The First (1524) and
Second (1526)
Expedition of Pizarro

of the men, while Almagro was sent back to Panama after supplies and reinforcements.

On his return Almagro found his comrades nearly dead from exposure and starvation. Again they started southward, only to experience increased hardships, when finally it became necessary to send Almagro back once more after supplies. Almagro was detained by Pedrárias, who had become disgusted at the wildgoose chase, and sent back another captain to bring Pizarro and his men back to Panama. Pizarro, however, refused to return, and for seven months he, with a few companions, remained on an island, where they lived mostly on shellfish. Finally another vessel was sent after Pizarro, which returned, after having made a voyage six hundred miles below the equator, with five live llamas, vases of gold, and several Peruvians on board.

On his return after his second unsuccessful attempt to reach Peru, Pizarro visited Spain, hoping to organize an expedition independent of the governor of Darién. He succeeded in obtaining an interview with the Emperor Charles V, and from that time became the hero of the hour. He was made captain-

The Third Expedition,
1530

general and Adelantado of Peru, and in 1530 returned to Panama, with his four brothers and a number of other enthusiastic

followers. Immediately a third expedition was prepared, which set sail from Panama on December 28, 1530. There were 3 small ships, 183 men, and 37 horses. After thirteen days' sail Pizarro landed and marched along the coast, cap-

turing the native towns as he came to them. In one town he seized booty amounting to 15,000 pesos in gold and 1,500 marks in silver. This spoil was sent back to Panama in the ships. Pizarro hoped that this rich haul would attract others to his enterprise. The ships were gone several months, and during their absence Pizarro and his men suffered great hardships. In 1532 he founded the town of San Miguel, where he remained several months, learning of other populous towns and more of the kingdom he had set out to conquer. On September 24, 1532, he left the town of San Miguel, and set out for the important Inca town of Caxamarca, which he entered on November 15.

Here we shall leave Pizarro, and turn our attention to the civilization of the Incas, and the internal conditions of the country at the time of the coming of the Spaniards.

The territory occupied by the Peruvians or the Incas extended from about the second degree north latitude, the present northern boundary of the republic of Ecuador, to about the thirty-seventh degree south latitude, a distance of nearly 3,000 miles in length, and from 300 to 350 in breadth, an area of some 800,000 square miles. The physical aspects of this country are peculiar in the extreme. The lofty Andes fringe

Extent of the Empire
of the Incas

the coast, leaving a narrow belt between the mountains and the sea, the northern part of which is covered with tropical vegetation,

while to the south is a rainless desert. The face of the country would appear peculiarly unfitted for the home of a great civilization, and yet the genius of the Indians overcame these great difficulties, and accomplished results, the remains of which are the wonder of scholars even in our own day.

The civilization of the country was very old, the historical Incas going back as far as 1380, the first¹ Inca beginning to rule probably as early as 1250. The culture of this region, however, goes back far beyond the Incas. The tradition of the origin of Inca civilization is as follows: "Thousands of years ago

Origin of Inca
Civilization

¹ The title "Inca" was applied to all the sovereigns, but at first was the tribal name, and was applied to descendants of the original tribe.

there lived in the highlands of Peru a people who developed a remarkable civilization, and left great ruins, cyclopean in vastness. . . . These people were attacked by barbarian hordes and were driven into the mountains, where they built a city in one of the most inaccessible Andean cañons. Here they remained until they regained their military strength, and finally, their mountain quarters becoming too narrow, they left, and went back to the vicinity of Cuzco, where they established the Inca kingdom."¹ The Inca power had reached its height at the

Civilization of the
Incas

time of the coming of the Spaniards. In the latter part of the fourteenth century Tupac Inca, one of the most renowned rulers, had conquered territory to the south, now Chile, and had also added the territory of Quito, to the north, which rivaled Peru in wealth and refinement. This conquering Inca was succeeded by his son, Huayna Capac, who died in 1525. This Inca had a multitude of concubines, but his lawful wife had to be one of pure Inca blood. To this lawful wife was born the legal heir, Huascar, but the Inca also had a son by the princess of Quito, Atahualpa, whom he loved very much, and instead of leaving the whole kingdom to the lawful heir, he divided it, leaving Quito to Atahualpa. When the Spaniards arrived in the country Atahualpa had succeeded by treachery in seizing all the territory, and Huascar and his brothers were prisoners.

The religion of the Incas was a comparatively high type of polytheism, in which ancestor-worship coexisted with sun-worship. The public worship was sun-worship, though there was some reverence paid to the moon. There were four great festivals, at which sacrifices of sheep, rabbits, and birds were made, but there were no human sacrifices, at least at the time when the Spaniards arrived. There was a numerous priesthood, divided into many divisions. The high priest was chosen from the family of the Inca, and the chief priest of each province was likewise of royal blood. Besides the priesthood there were the virgins of the sun, whose chief duties were to keep the sacred fires burning in the temples. There were about fifteen hundred of these nuns at the temple in Cuzco, and these

¹ *National Geographic Magazine*, April, 1913.

virgins were the concubines of the Inca. In most instances, however, a man was allowed but one wife. The agriculture of the Incas was carried on intensively, indicating that there was a large population. Gardens were carried up the mountain sides by means of terraces, potatoes, fine cotton, and maize being the chief crops. The Peruvians were familiar with fertilizer, using guano and small fish for that purpose. The people were also skilled in the weaving of woolen and cotton cloth and in the molding of gold and silver ornaments, which were used extensively in the temples and for personal adornment. They had no form of writing, but kept records by means of knotted cords. In this respect the Incas were not equal to the Aztecs. Before the coming of the Spaniards, Peruvian society was very highly organized, families and villages being classified according to the decimal system. The land was divided into units, the smallest being enough to support man and wife. As children were born, land was added sufficient for their support. There was no private ownership of land; all belonged to the community. Such was the civilization for the conquest of which Pizarro had led his little band of adventurers down the west coast of South America.

By November, 1532, Pizarro had reached the town of Cajamarca, where he found the Inca Atahualpa encamped. Pizarro sent Hernando de Soto and his elder brother Fernando to visit the camp of the Inca, having meanwhile made plans to get possession of his person, being influenced no doubt by Cortés and his seizure of Montezuma. The meeting between Pizarro and the Inca was attended with all the ceremonies known to each. The priest Valverde, who accompanied Pizarro, at once began a long discourse before the Inca, summing up the history and theology of the church, ending it by handing the Inca a copy of the Bible, which Atahualpa threw in the dust.

Pizarro Seizes
Atahualpa, the Inca

This act of sacrilege on the part of Atahualpa aroused the ire of the Spaniards. They proceeded to avenge it. For two hours the slaughter of the helpless Indians continued, Pizarro himself killing most of the attendants of the Inca and capturing the ruler.

It has been estimated that the number of Indians killed in this senseless slaughter ranged from two thousand to seven thousand. After his capture Atahualpa was confined in a room of the building occupied by the Spaniards, and was at first treated with consideration. Observing the desire of the Spaniards for the precious metals, the Inca agreed to fill the room in which he was confined with gold to provide his ransom, and it was to be collected in about two months. To this proposition Pizarro agreed, and gold in the shape of vases and temple vessels began to be brought in, until by June, 1533, the stipulated quantity was nearly complete.

Meanwhile Huascar, the deposed Inca, having heard of Atahualpa's ransom, sent word to the Spaniards that he would give even a larger sum if they would set him free and support him against the usurper. In some way Atahualpa heard of the offer of Huascar, and soon after Huascar was found secretly murdered. At this murder the Spaniards became alarmed, fearing that Atahualpa had means of arousing the country unknown to them, and they proceeded to bring Atahualpa to trial for the murder of his half brother. Accordingly, a trial was instituted, and after going through the forms, Atahualpa was duly convicted and sentenced to be burned

**The Execution of
Atahualpa**

at the stake, though after he had consented to baptism, he was granted the boon of being strangled with a bow string in the public square at Cajamarca, on August 29, 1533. At the death of the Inca, Pizarro proclaimed one of the Inca's sons his successor, but this son soon died. In September, 1533, the Spaniards left Cajamarca and proceeded toward Cuzco, the Inca capital. On the way they were attacked by six thousand Indians, but the Spaniards easily beat them off, and soon after this Manco, the son of Huascar, came to Pizarro. After making his submission he was proclaimed Inca, and he and Pizarro entered Cuzco together.

Pizarro now sent Fernando, his eldest brother, back to Spain with the king's part of Atahualpa's ransom. His arrival in Spain aroused great excitement. In January, 1535, Pizarro founded the town of Lima, which was soon destined to become

the most important city in the New World. While he was busy at this task his brother returned from Spain, bringing him news that he had been made a marquis and was to rule over the territory two hundred and seventy leagues south of the river Santiago, while Almagro had been made a marshal and was to be the ruler over the territory to the south of Pizarro. Pizarro's territory was to be called New Castile, and Almagro's New Toledo. This division of territory led to far-reaching trouble between the partners, for both claimed Cuzco as falling within their jurisdiction. Almagro later

Division of the
Territory and Manco's
Insurrection

started for what is now Chile with two hundred men to conquer the territory over which he had been appointed to rule. No sooner had Almagro departed than Manco, the Inca, raised a revolt. At first he had welcomed the Spaniards' help in the government of his kingdom, but as he saw them despoiling temples, seizing estates, and enslaving his people, the glamour of the white man departed. The Indians besieged Cuzco for six months, from February to August, 1536, when finally Fernando Pizarro relieved the city and the Indians retired. The retiring Indians met the forces of Almagro returning from Chile, and were again defeated.

The next turn in this tangled story is the attempt of Almagro to seize Cuzco. Almagro had found no great and wealthy cities in Chile to plunder, and he had returned to renew his claim to Cuzco. He in turn laid siege to the Inca capital April, 1537, when he siezed the city, capturing the two Pizarro brothers, Fernando and Gonzalo. This act of Almagro's started a civil war in Peru which lasted eleven years. Finally, Almagro was captured by the Pizarros, was tried for sedition and executed. In 1539 Fernando Pizarro again returned to Spain with great treasures. On account of the troubles in Peru he was not permitted to return, and he finally died on his estates in

Civil War in Peru.
The Death of Almagro
and the Pizarros

Spain in 1578, at a great age. After the death of Almagro his partisans were treated harshly by the Pizarros, and in 1541 a plot was laid by them to kill Francisco Pizarro. On June 26 of this year nineteen men succeeded in breaking into his palace at Lima and murdered the old man, and proclaimed an illegiti-

mate son of Almagro, known as "Almagro the Boy," governor of Peru. Meanwhile there arrived from Spain Vaca de Castro, a learned judge sent out by Charles V to advise Pizarro in the government of Peru. He arrived just at the time of the death of Pizarro, and at once assumed the governorship. A conflict arose between the partisans of Almagro the Boy and Castro, and a battle was fought in which young Almagro was defeated and captured, and finally beheaded.

The last of the Pizarros to succumb was Gonzalo. In 1539 he had been placed over Quito by his brother Francisco, and had made an exploring expedition eastward over the Andes as far as the Napo River. Later, in 1542, when what was known as the "New Laws," lately framed in Spain under the influence of Las Casas, to protect the Indians, were proclaimed in Peru, he headed an insurrection against their enforcement and was

The Last of the
Pizarros

captured and beheaded. The death of Gonzalo Pizarro ended the strange and turbulent career of the Pizarro brothers in Peru,

although peace did not come to the country for several years. In 1551 the first of the long line of viceroys arrived in Lima, in the person of Don Antonio de Mendoza, and with his arrival the period of the conquest came to an end. The Indians were subdued, Spanish government was established in the land, Spanish towns founded, and more than eight thousand Spaniards had come out to Peru as settlers.

The discovery and conquest of Mexico and Peru had a disastrous effect upon the prosperity of the older Spanish settlements on the islands. Naturally, the abundant supplies of precious metals found by the followers of Cortés and Pizarro attracted the population of the islands, and those who remained were poverty-stricken and neglected. In 1574 there

Effect of the Conquest
of Mexico and Peru
on the Islands

remained only about a thousand Spaniards on the island of Hispaniola, engaged mostly in sugar and stock-raising. In the same year

Cuba had a Spanish population of only two hundred and forty, while Santiago, which had formerly been a city of about a thousand Spaniards, now contained but thirty. Habana had a Spanish population of only seventy, while Porto Rico and

Jamaica were in the same plight. In contrast to the depleted condition in the islands was the flourishing condition in Mexico and Peru.¹ In 1574 Mexico City contained a population of fifteen thousand Spaniards, with public buildings, churches, schools, a university, and well-built houses; Vera Cruz boasted some two hundred Spanish families, all merchants and shopkeepers; Quito contained some four hundred Spanish families, a hospital, and three monasteries; Lima contained a Spanish population of two thousand families, besides a large Indian population, and already the city was becoming famous for the number of its church institutions.

III. THE CONQUEST OF CHILE

When Chile first became known to the Spaniards her inhabitants had advanced beyond the first stage of society, for they lived a settled life and practiced agriculture. They lived in village communities, the land being held by the whole community, though the several members of the village held private property. The people of Chile, however, had not nearly reached the stage of development that obtained in Peru and Mexico.

We have already noticed the coming of Almagro, in the year 1535, with five hundred and seventy Spaniards and an army of Peruvians, to conquer the territory which had been given him by the king of Spain. Almagro's attempted conquest was a sad failure. The horrors of his march along the summit of the Andes have been vividly described by Prescott in his *Conquest of Peru*. By the time the expedition reached the interior of the country many had died of cold and hunger. At first the natives were friendly, looking upon the Spaniards as a superior race of beings, but when the Spaniards began to repay the natives' trust and kindness by cruelty and murder they took up arms, and so effective was their resistance that Almagro abandoned his expedition and returned to Peru.

Almagro's Attempted
Conquest of Chile,
1535

In the year 1540 Pizarro, having determined to conquer Chile, sent Pedro de Valdivia with a force of two hundred

¹ Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America*, pp. 196-201, from Juan Lopez de Velasco *Geografia y Descripcion Universal de las Indias*.

Spaniards and a large number of Peruvians to conquer and colonize the territory. Valdivia met with a determined resistance on the part of the natives, but he pushed his way into the country, and in 1541 founded the city of Santiago, naming it in honor of the patron saint of Spain. Pushing southward, Valdivia founded Imperial and Concepción, and later the city of Valdivia, this town being the first instance in which a Spaniard gave his name to a settlement. In the planting of these more southern cities Valdivia met a new enemy in the fierce Araucanians, and in 1553 he met his death in fighting these warlike Indians. On the death of Valdivia the viceroy of Peru sent his son, Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, as governor of Chile. The year 1553 also marked the beginning of the long Araucanian wars, which were to last for more than a century. So successful were the Indians in their wars against the Span-

Valdivia Establishes
Colonies in Chile

iards that in 1598 they expelled the Spaniards from nearly all the settlements they had established in Chile. On account of the continued war large bodies of troops were stationed within the territory. The loose tribal organization of the Indians made it almost impossible to conquer them, for they could retire into the mountains and thickly wooded country and the Spaniards were thus kept from inflicting any decisive defeat upon them. General after general and army after army were sent out from Peru and Spain, but still the war went on and the natives remained unconquered. The first lull in this long war did not come until 1640, when a treaty of peace was signed between the Spaniards and the natives. The treaty provided that the Biobio River was to be the boundary between the Spaniards and the Araucanians, and the Indians were to recognize the king of Spain as their feudal superior. This peace lasted for fifteen years, when war once more broke out. This struggle lasted until 1724, when a new peace was signed which lasted until 1766. The third war lasted until 1780, when a peace was signed which continued until the end of the colonial period. In no country in South America did the Spaniards meet such persistent opposition as they experienced in Chile from the invincible Araucanians.

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CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDING OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLONIES OF SPAIN: VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, AND LA PLATA

THE colonies of Spain in America may be divided into two classes, according to their products: (1) the mineral-producing colonies; (2) the agricultural colonies. The chief colonies of the first type are Mexico and Peru, while the representative colonies of the second class are Venezuela, New Granada, and the colonies established along the Rio de la Plata. Naturally, the Spaniard's chief interest was in those colonies where the precious metals were found in abundance, while the agricultural colonies might be termed the neglected colonies. It is the purpose of this chapter to recount the founding of these neglected colonies.

VENEZUELA

The coast of what is now Venezuela was the first part of the mainland of America to be sighted by Columbus. In the year following (1499) Ojeda, accompanied by Amerigo Vespucci, explored a much greater section of the coast. It was this expedition of Ojeda's which gave the name "Venezuela" to the country. The Spaniards, seeing the native huts built upon piles, to keep them above the swampy ground, called the country Venezuela, or little Venice. These Spaniards made some attempts at settlement, but with little success. During these early years of Spanish dominion the northern part of South America was under the jurisdiction of Hispaniola. In 1527 an expedition of sixty men from the island founded the city of Coro, which became the seat of government, and so remained until 1576.

The real reduction of the territory, however, was accomplished by the agents of the German merchant house of the Welsers. Charles V had borrowed heavily of this house, and in

payment he bestowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as a fief of the crown of Castile. The title of *adelantado* was to be given to the person whom the Welsers should nominate, and the right of making slaves of the Indians who resisted them was permitted. Unfortunately, the Welsers committed the carrying out of the plan to some adventurers, who, instead of developing the country, spent their time in plun-

The Period of
German Merchants,
1528-1556

dering and enslaving the Indians. They wandered from district to district in search of mines, and their cruelty and avarice made

the exactions of the Spaniards seem mild in comparison. For twenty-eight years the Welsers held power in Venezuela, and the only civilizing thing accomplished was the founding of the city of Tocuyo. In 1556 the grant was rescinded and the Welsers willingly relinquished their right, for the province was so desolated that it hardly afforded a subsistence to the few Europeans dwelling in the territory. With the withdrawal of the Germans a Spanish governor was sent out, and under the new administration the selling of Indians as slaves ceased, though they were distributed among the Spanish settlers under the law of *encomiendas*.

During the second half of the sixteenth century the history of the territory is made up of accounts of exploring expeditions, of the founding of towns, and of Indian wars. The first Spanish governor was Perez de Tolosa, whose administration ended with his death in 1548. During all of the latter part of the sixteenth century the coast was much troubled with freebooters and pirates, whose repeated attacks kept the country in a constant state of apprehension and uncertainty. Espe-

Free-Booting and
Piracy Along the
Venezuelan Coast

cially was this true after the trade in Negro slaves became active. English adventurers, following the example of John Hawkins and

Drake, opened up a profitable trade between the Guinea coast of Africa and the West Indies and South America. Many of these adventurers became pirates pure and simple, with headquarters in the Bahamas, or on the other small islands, and made a business of raiding the Spanish colonies or capturing treasure ships. Sir Walter Raleigh made two expeditions to

the Venezuelan coast in search of the fictitious kingdom of El Dorado. On the first expedition, made in 1598, he sailed four hundred miles up the Orinoco, and on returning wrote a valuable description of the country he had discovered.

In 1567 a noble Spaniard, Diego de Losada, who had already won distinction as an Indian fighter, and who had been assigned the task of subjugating the Indians of Venezuela, laid out in the valley of the Caracas a city to which he gave the name Santiago de León de Caracas. The city of Barcelona was founded in 1617, and soon became the center for agricultural and pastoral products, as it was situated near fertile grazing

Progress in Venezuela and agricultural lands. The crops raised by Negro and Indian labor were maize, potatoes, bananas, and in the higher valleys, wheat and other small grains, as well as tobacco and sugar. Cocoa trees were introduced in spite of the prohibition of the Spanish government, and an illegal trade in cocoa soon grew up. For much of the colonial period the Spanish government prohibited the exportation of agricultural products, and it was not until a more liberal trade policy was introduced that Venezuela began to prosper.

NEW GRANADA

New Granada, now the republic of Colombia, was the scene of the first attempt to found colonies on the mainland by the Spaniards. In 1508 Ojeda, having obtained a grant from the king of territory from Cape Vela to the Gulf of Darién, attempted colonization with disastrous results, as we have already seen. The first permanent settlement was at Santa Marta, located on the coast, east of the Magdalena, and was founded in 1525, but it remained little more than a slave-catching center. Expeditions from the islands scoured the country for Indian slaves. Coro, established in 1527 in Venezuela, was likewise a slave-catching center, and expeditions from these two centers penetrated into the interior of what is now Colombia, and in a few years the Spaniards had thus gained a fair idea of the geography of the country. In 1533 the city

**Early Colonization of
New Granada**

of Cartagena was founded by Heredia as a gold-seeking center. Heredia was successful in finding profitable gold washings and it is claimed that he and his followers obtained a larger amount of gold than even the conquerers of Mexico and Peru.

The exploration and conquest of the interior of Colombia was accomplished by Sebastian de Benalcázar and Jiménez de Quesada. Benalcázar, a follower of Pizarro, had already conquered Quito in 1533 and between 1534 and 1536 he explored the beautiful and fruitful Cauca valley, and in December, 1536, founded the city of Popayán. Two years later he began to push over the high mountains toward the source of the Magdalena. Descending the Magdalena some distance Benalcázar heard of other Spaniards who had come into the country from

The Conquest of the
Cauca and the
Magdalena Valleys
and the Founding of
Santa Fé de Bogotá

the north. This was a great expedition under Jiménez de Quesada, with eight hundred followers and a hundred horses. Quesada had left Santa Marta in 1536 to explore the upper

valley of the great Magdalena River and to conquer the Chibchans, who inhabited a high plateau near the source of the river and who had reached a grade of civilization only slightly inferior to that of the Aztecs or the Peruvians. The expedition encountered almost unsurmountable difficulties, fighting disease and Indians armed with poisoned arrows, and by the time the plateau was at last reached three fourths of the men had perished. Largely because of internal dissensions among the Chibchans Quesada easily conquered them and secured vast quantities of plunder, consisting of gold, precious stones, and fine textiles. In August, 1538, he founded the Spanish city of Santa Fé de Bogotá on the site of the native capital, and to the country he had conquered he gave the name "New Kingdom of Granada."

RIO DE LA PLATA COLONIES

The earliest explorers of the La Plata were not interested in the colonization of the country, but, rather, in trying to find a way through the continent to the coveted east. In 1515 Juan Diaz de Solis, an experienced navigator, coasted along the east coast of South America from the Isthmus of Panama,

and in February, 1516, entered the estuary of the Rio de la Plata, which he called the Fresh Sea (Mar Dulce). On landing de Solis and his companions were attacked by the hostile Indians and were killed. The remaining Spaniards fled, and, loading their ships with dye wood, returned to Spain. Ten

The Early Explorers of
the Rio de la Plata

years later Sebastian Cabot, then the Pilot Major of Spain, was commissioned to extend Spanish exploration in the Pacific, but because of disaffection among his men he abandoned his original plan and sailed into the La Plata. He sailed up the Paraná in the hope of reaching the Pacific, and even penetrated some distance up the Paraguay. He built a fort at one of the mouths of the Paraná, but due to famine and hostile savages it was abandoned and Cabot returned to Spain. He gave glowing reports of the country, but was unable to report any gold or native civilization to plunder. For this reason the country did not prove greatly attractive to the Spaniard. The enthusiasm of Cabot, however, aroused the interest of one man, Pedro de Mendoza, and it was due to his efforts that the first permanent colony was established on the La Plata.

Mendoza was a nobleman with influential connections at court. He succeeded in making a contract with the king which provided that he should be made *adelantado* of the region to be settled, on condition that he should build three stone fortresses on the banks of the Rio de la Plata and that he should bring over one thousand men, a number of ecclesiastics, and

Founding of the First
Colony on the
Rio de la Plata

two hundred horses. The expedition was thoroughly organized and contained distinguished members of the Spanish nobility. Such prestige did the undertaking gain in Spain that volunteers flocked to the enterprise, and instead of one thousand men there were two thousand five hundred when they finally set sail on September 1, 1535. The colony landed at the present site of Buenos Aires in February, where they founded a city and named it Santa Maria de Buenos Aires. Mendoza sent one of his followers, Juan de Ayolas, to explore the rivers and to seek a route to Peru. Meanwhile prosperity failed to come to the colony and Mendoza, now thoroughly disillusioned,

decided to return to Spain. Famine and pestilence rapidly decreased their number, until a year from their landing there were but six or seven hundred remaining. The Indians inhabiting the region were savages and lived in small tribes scattered over the plains, and carried on constant warfare against the Spanish colonists. Finally the desperate settlers decided to abandon their settlement at Buenos Aires and fled up the river, hoping either to find El Dorado or reach the colonists already established about Lake Titicaca.

Ayolas, who had been sent to explore the upper stretches of the great rivers, had built a fort called Asunción at the juncture of the Pilcomayo and the Paraguay Rivers, and then had pushed on over the Andes. He and his followers never returned. Years afterward friendly Indians reported that they had reached the slopes of the Bolivian mountains, where they had found much gold and silver, and were returning with their treasure when they were ambushed by hostile Indians and

The Founding of
Asunción

perished to the last man. Meanwhile the leadership at Asunción fell into the hands of an officer of Mendoza's expedition, Domingo Martínez de Irala, a most capable and resourceful Spaniard.

The new colony established at Asunción was very far away, a thousand miles from the coast, and was left much alone. In 1540 a new *adelantado*, De Vaca, was appointed. He succeeded in making his way to the settlement, but the settlers soon tired of his rule and he was sent back to Spain. The colonists then selected Irala as governor. He continued the dominating figure in the colony until his death in 1567. The rule of Irala was important because of the relationship which he established between the settlers and the Indians. Laws

The Administration
of Irala at Asunción

were made providing that any Spaniard might conquer a tribe of Indians and become its master, holding it under the title of *encomienda*. Polygamy was also introduced, which became general in the colony. Irala himself espoused the seven daughters of a certain Indian cacique, and each of the soldiers was allowed two wives. This led to a rapid mingling of the blood of the Spaniards with the natives. The horses brought by the Spaniards multiplied rap-

idly, as did also their sheep and cattle, and it was not long until vast herds of live stock were wandering over the limitless pampas. Pastoral life more and more appealed to the Spaniards and Creoles of the region, and live-stock products became increasingly important in the valleys of the great rivers.

While Asunción was struggling for life other attempts were made to found a city at the mouth of the river. In 1542 De Vaca arrived from Spain, on his way to Asunción, with four hundred Spaniards, and a second attempt was made to establish Buenos Aires. The site selected for the city was "one of the worst ever chosen for a city." It has one of the worst harbors in the world for a great commercial center; but the Spaniards persisted in their efforts and to-day Buenos Aires, the greatest city of the southern hemisphere, is a monument to

The Founding of
Buenos Aires

the persistence of the Spanish conquistadores.

De Vaca's attempt was likewise a failure.

Zarata, the third *adelantado*, made another attempt, but failed as badly as either of his predecessors. De Garay, a man of energy and foresight, who had taken a prominent part in the conquest of Peru, was the leader who finally solved the difficulties of establishing a city on the coast. In 1576 he was appointed lieutenant-governor and captain-general of Rio de la Plata, and continued his rule until slain by the Indians in 1584. Under him many colonies were established in different parts of the territory, among them Santa Fé. In the spring of 1580 he sent overland from Santa Fé two hundred Indian families, with horses, cattle, and sheep, while boats carried arms, ammunition, seeds, and tools. He and forty companions followed down the river to the site of the colony. This well-organized enterprise was successful in the permanent establishment of Buenos Aires.

Until 1617 Buenos Aires and Asunción were under the same government, and both a part of the vice-royalty of Peru.

Administration of
Saavedra

Following the death of Garay conditions in the valley of the La Plata were unsettled.

The people were more independent than elsewhere in Spanish America and insisted on having a part in the selection of their rulers. In 1591 the colonists elected Arias de

Saavedra, a native of Asunción, as their ruler, and his election was confirmed by the crown. Four times did Saavedra serve as governor of the province, his last term being from 1615 to 1618.

By 1617 Buenos Aires had become a town of some three thousand people, and the right bank of the Parana as far as Santa Fé was covered with vast herds of cattle and sheep belonging to the Creoles. Other cities also were springing up.

**Buenos Aires Made
a Separate Province**

In this year (1617) the province was divided and Buenos Aires became separate from Asunción, or Paraguay. The new province included the present Argentina provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, Entre Rios, and Corrientes, as well as the present republic of Uruguay, the city of Montevideo having been founded on the north bank of the La Plata in 1726. The first governor of this new territory was Diego de Gongora, while the first separate governor of Paraguay was Manuel de Frias.

Before the division of the province Jesuit missionaries had gained a foothold in Paraguay. Their influence greatly increased until they had established a veritable theocracy over certain of the Indian tribes. They first entered the country in 1586 for the purpose of bringing Christianity to the Indians and established a school in Asunción. They later pushed out into the remoter parts of the country. The natives were treated with great kindness. The Jesuits learned the Indian tongue and taught the Indians the rudiments of religion. Their suc-

**The Jesuits in
Paraguay**

cess was phenomenal, and it was not long until they had gathered large numbers of Indians into settled communities and were teaching them agricultural and other civilized arts. The natives were taught to build comfortable houses; warehouses were constructed to care for the crops, while the native women were instructed in the arts of weaving and spinning. In 1608 Philip III gave his royal sanction to the Jesuit work along the upper Parana. In 1614 there were one hundred and nineteen Jesuits at work in this region, and from this date to 1769, when the king of Spain banished them from all of his dominions, the Jesuits controlled the Indians of Paraguay and adjoining territory.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PORTUGUESE COLONIZATION OF BRAZIL

IN February, 1500, Vincente Pinzón, one of the companions of Columbus on his first voyage, saw land in the neighborhood of Cape Saint Roque. It is also probable that Ojeda and Vespucci, six months before, saw the coast of Brazil at about the same place. The real discovery of Brazil, however, was the work of the Portuguese navigator Pedro Alvarez Cabral. This

Portuguese Discovery
of Brazil, by Cabral

Portuguese nobleman sailed from Lisbon in March, 1500, with thirteen ships, on a voyage to India, continuing the work of Da

Gama. It is said that Da Gama wrote the sailing instructions for the voyage, which gave direction to bear eastward after passing the thirty-fourth degree south latitude. Whether by accident or not Cabral, on April 22, 1500, sighted land in what is now the southern part of the present state of Bahia. After landing and erecting a large stone cross, Cabral took possession of the country for his king and then continued his voyage around Africa to India.

The news of this discovery reached Portugal in the fall of 1500, and a small fleet was at once dispatched to ascertain the extent and condition of the land discovered. They hoped to find a highly developed civilization, but the natives they saw were but savages and gave little promise of a highly developed state of culture. This expedition was under the command of

Vespucci's Voyage to
Brazil

Amerigo Vespucci, now in Portugal's employ. He coasted southward along the east coast, naming rivers and bays as he went. Thus he

reached the Rio San Francisco on Saint Francis Day and gave the river the name of the saint; on New Year's Day, 1501, he sailed into the harbor of the present city of Rio de Janeiro and named the harbor the "River of January." For two thousand miles he sailed along the coast looking for gold, silver, and spices, but the only thing of value found was Brazil wood,

and it was not long until the country which produced this product in such abundance became known as Brazil.

Portugal was slow to colonize the new country which had come into her possession so unexpectedly. An occasional Portuguese ship sailed along the coast, gathering dye wood, and the coast came to be well known to navigators. Ships from other countries, especially those of France, came more and more frequently, and although Spain never seriously disputed the claim of Portugal, yet it became increasingly evident that Portugal must establish permanent colonies if she hoped to

Portugal Retains the
New Found Coasts

retain the territory. The first colonists to be sent over were criminals set on shore by the ships bound for India. One of this class was Diego Alvarez, who landed in 1509 near the present site of Bahia. He made terms with the savages and finally married a daughter of a chief and raised a numerous half-breed family. Another such was João Ramalho, who did much the same as Alvarez near Santos. In succeeding years other such characters were landed, one of whom, collecting an army of Indians, went on a gold-hunting expedition, penetrated the coast range, and entered territory tributary to the Incas several years before the Pizarro conquest.

The first regular colonizing attempt was organized in 1530, when five ships and several hundred colonists, under command of Martim Affonso de Souza, set sail for Brazil. They reached the coast near Pernambuco in the early part of 1531. A colony was planted on a little island, São Vicente, near the present port of Santos, where they were welcomed by Ramalho and his half-breed family. Following the establishment of this first

Early Portuguese
Colonization of Brazil

regular colony, a number of others were undertaken in quick succession. It was decided (1532) by the Portuguese crown to divide up the whole coast into feudal grants, fifty leagues in length, with no limits in the interior.¹ These were given to Portuguese noblemen with absolute power over the natives. This system

¹ The names of these twelve feudal grants were: Santo Amaro, São Vicente, Parahyba do Sul, Espírito, Santo, Porto Seguro, Ilhéos, Bahia, Pernambuco, Itamaracá, Ceará, Rio Grande, and Maranhão.

had already been adopted in the Madeira and Azores, and was very naturally adopted for Brazil. Twelve of these grants were marked out, though only upon six were permanent colonies planted.

Brazil was the first colony in America to be established upon an agricultural basis. While the colonists upon the islands were practicing agriculture to some extent, yet up to this time the precious metals were the all-absorbing attraction everywhere in the Spanish colonies. The basis for successful Brazilian colonization was the sugar industry. Sugar cane was brought from the Madeira Islands as early as 1526; the industry prospered from the start, and it was not many years until Brazil became the chief source of the world's supply. Although Portuguese law forbade the enslavement of the Indians, the colonists paid little heed to this prohibition, and the savages were enslaved in great numbers. The native Brazilians, however, were not so easily induced to labor as were the natives of Peru and Mexico, and the importation of Negroes from the Guinea coast became a common practice. As a result the Negro population of Brazil soon grew to be the most numerous in South America.

Another interesting contrast between the Portuguese colonies in America and those of Spain is that the Portuguese came to South America with their families, which was true of all classes. The Spaniard, especially the chief among them, came out alone, and often returned after a period of office-holding. The Portuguese colonist sold out his possessions at home and brought his household with him to America. Brazil early became a plantation colony, and the products of the east, familiar to the Portuguese, were early transplanted to the Brazilian plantations.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the whole coast line from the mouth of the Amazon to the mouth of the La Plata was studded at intervals with Portuguese settlements, in all of which Portuguese law and justice were administered. In 1549 the king of Portugal took a new step in his American colonies. He revoked the grants which had been made to

Brazil, the First
Agricultural Colony
in America

Portuguese Colonists
Bring Out Their
Families to Brazil

certain noblemen in order to concentrate the government in the hands of a central power. Thomé de Sousa was the first governor-general. He sailed for Brazil in April, 1549, with six vessels, on board of which were three hundred and twenty officials, three hundred convict colonists, and six Jesuits. The instructions were to build a strong city at Bahia, where the seat of government was to be established. Within a few months a town of over two hundred houses had been built and fortifications erected. The town received the name of São Salvador, which soon became the recognized center of Portuguese interests in America.

The Jesuits brought over by De Sousa began at once to work among the Indians. These heroic priests went out alone among the Indian tribes, lived with them, learned their language, and exhorted them to abandon cannibalism and polygamy. Everywhere they were successful with the Indians, though they experienced great difficulty among the Portuguese, many of whom were leading scandalous lives. The Jesuits opposed the enslavement of the Indians, and their villages of converted Indians served as refuges for slaves fleeing from the plantations. Especially was this true in São Paulo, where plantation owners came in constant conflict with the Jesuits. In 1552 the first bishop was appointed, who resided at Bahia and for more than a century held jurisdiction over all Brazil.

In 1558 the French, who had all along been interested in the Brazilian coast, founded a numerous colony at Rio de Janeiro, composed mostly of Huguenots. It was Admiral Coligny who conceived the idea of establishing a refuge for his persecuted countrymen in America. An adventurer, Nicolas Villegagnon, was selected to lead the colonists out to America. He proved a traitor and badly mistreated the colonists, many of whom returned to France. Finally, Villegagnon himself, finding his force diminished, was compelled to return. During his absence the Portuguese seized the colony and in 1567 succeeded in firmly establishing their authority.

The Government of
Brazil Centralized,
1549

Jesuit Work in Brazil

The French in Brazil;
the Founding of Rio
de Janeiro, 1558

The governor under whom the French were expelled was Men da Sá, a very able and experienced administrator. He came to Brazil in 1558 and continued to administer the colony until his death in 1572. The colony experienced great prosperity during these years, and most of the settlements grew rapidly. At his death there were about sixty thousand civilized people in the colony, about twenty thousand of whom were white. By far the largest proportion of the population lived in the northern part of Brazil, in the vicinity of Pernambuco

Brazil in the
Sixteenth Century

and Bahia, while smaller settlements were scattered along the coast southward. Most of these settlements were primarily engaged in the sugar industry, the average plantation producing forty-five to fifty tons of sugar annually. The Brazilian plantations were large and there was little selling of land. Land was free and nontaxable, and the owner could hold great tracts without cultivation. The rural population was greatly scattered, there being practically no small farmers. The sugar planters lived lavishly and spent great sums on social entertainment, and rich silks and velvets were commonly seen among them. Many sugar planters commanded incomes of ten thousand dollars and upward, and extravagance and abundance went hand in hand.

Following the death of the king of Portugal in 1580, and many of the Portuguese noblemen in a battle against the Moors in Africa, Philip II of Spain succeeded in establishing himself upon the Portuguese throne. For sixty years the crowns of Portugal and Spain were united. During these years Brazil suffered more or less neglect, owing to the fact that it was generally believed that Spain's colonies were superior in wealth

The Period of Spanish
Rule in Brazil—
1580-1640

to those of Portugal. The internal management of Brazil, however, went on much as before, and the Portuguese continued to hold the monopoly of Brazilian commerce. In this period in Brazilian history the Dutch, English, and French were active in their attacks upon the Brazilian coast. During these years the Dutch were carrying on their heroic struggle for independence, while England and Spain were also at war. Brazil, now a Spanish possession, was therefore a legitimate place of

attack. The French also renewed their efforts to regain a foothold on the coast, and in 1612 a French Protestant colony was planted on the island of Maranhão. In 1616, however, the Portuguese drove the French away and took possession of their colony.

Of far more lasting importance than the attempts of the French to gain a foothold were the activities of the Dutch. The Dutch had gained their independence by the close of the sixteenth century, and the early years of Dutch independence are among the greatest in her history. The Dutch were active on the sea, in commerce, and trade. Dutch ships were frequenting

Dutch Activity in the
Seventeenth Century

every sea, and Dutch ambition was reaching out and grasping after markets and colonies.

In 1595 the Dutch East India Company was formed, and her trade with the East Indies was the most extensive in Europe. While this Dutch company was engaged in laying a foundation for a colonial empire in the east, another Dutch company, the Dutch West India Company, was incorporated. The object of this new company (organized 1621) was not alone to establish legitimate trade relations in the New World, but also to plunder the treasure fleets of her arch enemy, Spain. In fact, this may be said to have been the chief object.

In 1624 a great Dutch fleet attacked the Brazilian capital and captured the town, the governor himself becoming a prisoner. For two years they held Bahia, when Spain sent forty ships and eight thousand soldiers, and the Dutch surrendered. The Dutch continued to harass the fleets of Spain and Portu-

The Dutch Establish
Themselves Upon the
Brazilian Coast—
1630-1655

gal, and in thirteen years captured over five hundred ships, and booty amounting to \$40,000,000. In 1630 the Dutch captured Pernambuco and all efforts of the Spanish

government to retake the town were unavailing, and by 1636 the Dutch were firmly established along the San Francisco River. When Portugal regained her independence from Spain an impulse toward national feeling was created among the Portuguese living under Dutch rule in Brazil. In 1644 a rebellion was organized against the Dutch, culminating in 1655, when the Dutch were compelled to surrender Pernambuco.

With this event the power of the Dutch in Brazil came to an end.

By this time the Portuguese began to appreciate the importance of Brazil, and King John IV conferred upon his heir the title of "Prince of Brazil." Following the war with the Dutch the Portuguese government was unable to enforce the exclusive commercial policy, so dear to both Portugal and Spain, for treaties with England and Holland had been made allowing them trade privileges. As a result of this more liberal policy Brazil experienced a great wave of prosperity. Popula-

**Brazil During the
Seventeenth Century**

tion rapidly increased, new towns sprang up, and by the end of the seventeenth century Brazil contained a population of seven hundred and fifty thousand. The old restrictive

policy, however, was soon restored, and monopolies were granted to certain commercial companies. The Jesuits also became more active, and established missions along the valley of the Amazon. This activity served to arouse the resentment of the Brazilians, who did not object to their activity along the Amazon, but did resent their encroachment in the more populous districts. In 1684 a rebellion broke out against the Jesuits, which proved so serious that Portuguese officials became more careful in granting favors to the order.

In the later seventeenth century gold was discovered in Brazil. For some years there had been rumors that the Jesuits were secretly working gold mines with Indian labor along the Rio San Francisco. In 1693 large native nuggets of gold were found in São Paulo and this news caused great excitement and a rush began toward the interior, which threatened to depopulate the settlements along the coast. Even Portugal sent out

Discovery of Gold

gold-seekers in great numbers. The province of Minas Geraes became a great gold-producing center and within fifty years produced seven million five hundred thousand ounces. The coming in of so many outsiders caused resentment on the part of the Paulists who had first discovered the gold, and quarrels soon arose which resulted in anarchy and civil war. The government attempted to put mining laws into force and collected a tax on every

slave employed in the mines. Before gold could be exported it had to receive the government stamp in government melting houses.

Again in the eighteenth century Brazil was troubled by invasion of the French. Civil wars also broke out in Pernambuco, caused by the corrupt rule of the royal governors. The Brazilian sugar planters led the revolt and were successful in overthrowing the government. A republic was even proposed, but when a new

**Revolt Against Bad
Rule**

governor came out the insurgents laid down their arms. In the eighteenth century Portugal became involved in the war of the Spanish Suc-

cession as allies of the English and Dutch, and in 1710 a French expedition landed at Rio de Janeiro and made its way into the center of the town, only to be captured a little later by the populace, led by the Portuguese governor. The Portuguese were very cruel in their treatment of the French prisoners, most of them

**The French Capture
of Rio de Janeiro,
1710-1711**

being killed. This cruelty did not long remain unavenged. The next year a large French fleet, with six thousand troops under the command

of Admiral Tourin, arrived before Rio de Janeiro, and after days of hard fighting the city fell. On the French threatening to burn the city a ransom of six hundred and ten thousand crusados and five hundred cases of sugar was paid, besides provisions for the return voyage.

In the first part of the eighteenth century Portugal suffered under the corrupt rule of John V, one of the most dissipated of kings. Corruption also prevailed in Brazil. Brazil was made to contribute to the revenues of the mother country, and taxes of every description were imposed upon products and people.

**Corruption in the
Governments of
Portugal and Brazil**

All trade with European states except Portugal was prohibited. Monopolies were granted on rum, tobacco, and numerous other articles

of commerce. Bribe-taking was common among officials, the administration of justice was interfered with by the governors, who looked after friends and favorites at the expense of justice, while every other known form of corruption everywhere prevailed.

The last half of the eighteenth century was a period of re-

form. King John V died in 1750 and the Marquis of Pombal completely renovated the administration of both Portugal and Brazil. One of the causes of corruption had been the influence of the clergy in politics. The Jesuits had also been active in resisting reform. The Marquis of Pombal sent over his brother as captain-general of Maranhão and Para, and one of his first

**The Reforms of
Pombal; the Expul-
sion of the Jesuits,
1760**

acts was to deprive the Jesuits of temporal power. This was followed in 1760 by the expulsion of the order from Brazil. Their schools, colleges, and churches were confis-

cated, and the Indians whom they had collected into villages were left without leaders or teachers, and they either became the prey of ruthless settlers or reverted to their savage state. Among the reforms of Pombal was his attempt to protect the Indians against enslavement. This resulted in greatly increasing

**Negro Slaves in
Brazil**

the number of Negro slaves. With this increased importation of Negroes intermixture with the Negro rapidly followed, and it be-

came common for young Brazilians to have Negro mistresses. The Dutch had been slaveholders during their occupation of Brazilian territory, and when they were driven out the Brazilians took over their slaves. This led to an increase of Negro importation, as did also the discovery of gold. It was not long until Negro labor was used everywhere and the Negro became the most numerous single element in the population. By the end of the eighteenth century twenty thousand slaves were imported annually into the country and five thousand were sold every year in Rio de Janeiro alone.

As Brazil grew in wealth and population the revenues obtained by Portugal from her great colony likewise increased. It has been estimated that between 1728 and 1734 the annual sum received by the Portuguese government from Brazil was

**Brazil at the Close
of the Eighteenth
Century**

not less than \$10,000,000. There were heavy taxes on imports; iron and salt were taxed a hundred per cent; the crown received the

royal fifth from the products of the mines, while trade restrictions of every variety hampered the free interchange of products. In spite of these absurd restrictions the foreign trade of Brazil at

the close of the colonial period amounted to some \$20,000,000 annually and the population had grown to over 2,000,000, distributed as follows: 430,000 whites, 1,500,000 Negroes, 700,000 Indians. There were 12 cities and 66 towns. Rio de Janeiro was the largest city with a population of some 30,000. Social life was of the most degraded kind, and even wealthy planters lived in filth and degradation.

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CHAPTER VIII

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

THE colonial government instituted by Spain for her American colonies was in many respects the most highly developed system of colonial control ever put into operation. To say, however, that it was highly developed does not necessarily

Importance of the
Spanish Colonial
System

imply that it was highly successful. On the other hand, we must not jump to the conclusion that it was a complete failure. Spain

was one of the first modern nations to establish a colonial empire and a definite colonial system. For three hundred years she governed one of the most widely extended empires that have ever existed. For these reasons her system of colonial government deserves our respect and should commend our study.

To get the best understanding of Spain's colonial system it will be well for us to know something of the kind of institutions which prevailed in Castile, especially at the time the colonies were established. Castile had been instrumental in the

Colonial Institutions
Modeled After Those
of Castile

discovery and colonization of the Indies, and the government devised for the colonies was modeled closely after the institutions of that

realm. At the time of the discovery of America the government of Castile was undergoing a thorough reorganization at the hands of the Catholic kings, and several of the institutions, afterward transferred to the colonies, were in the formative stage.

At the head of the Castilian realm stood the sovereign, in theory supreme and absolute. In former times the Cortes had been a check upon the power of the sovereign, but under Ferdinand and Isabella it had lost much of its authority. Of

The Sovereigns and
the Councils

greatest importance in the administration of the government were the councils. There came to be eight of these, but the Council of

Castile was the earliest organized and remained by far the most

important. Every member of the councils was appointed directly by the sovereigns and could be dismissed at their pleasure. "Through them the sovereigns carried their absolutism into every department and subdivision of the conduct of the government." When the time came to organize a government for the colonies the monarchs simply formed another council, the Council of the Indies, which was modeled after the Council of Castile.

Three officials of great importance to the Spanish colonies were the viceroy, the captain-general, and the *adelantado*. All of these officials had an old-world origin. The *adelantado* was a Castilian official, the special agent of the crown, generally appointed to administer a frontier province. As early as 1323 the king of Aragon appointed a viceroy for Sardinia and later there were viceroys for Sicily and Naples. In the Castilian kingdom the title of viceroy was sometimes given to the governor of an outlying province. The captain-general seems to have been of Castilian origin and corresponded somewhat to the viceroy of Aragon and ruled large territories directly under the king.

The Adelantado, the
Viceroy and the
Captain-General

Among the institutions which underwent reorganization at the hands of the Catholic kings were the tribunals of justice. At first there was but one royal court, known as the royal *audiencia*, but later other courts were formed, all of which were called *audiencias*. Besides being courts of justice, the provincial *audiencias* had legislative and administrative functions, though in their administrative capacity they were subject to instructions from the king. They also decided elections and confirmed judges. In their judicial capacity the *audiencias* were divided into a civil and criminal court, each of which was presided over by a judge. In every *audiencia* there was an officer called a *fiscal*, who was the prosecutor, and also certain other officials corresponding somewhat to our sheriff and constable.

The Audiencias

Before the time of Ferdinand and Isabella the government of Spain was greatly decentralized, and there was much trouble in collecting the taxes and enforcing justice. It became necessary

to introduce certain officials whose duty it was to look after the royal interests in the provinces and cities. This new officer

The Corregidor was the *corregidor*. In 1480 they were sent for the first time to all Castilian cities, and from that time this institution was extended over the entire realm. The *corregidor* became extremely powerful and exercised military, judicial, financial, and executive functions. His duty was to see that all the laws of the kingdom were enforced and that the king was not defrauded of either the honor or taxes due him. The district over which he presided was called a *corregimiento*. The *corregidor* has been described as the "omnicompetent servant of an absolute king."

In connection with this new official, the *corregidor*, there developed another institution known as the *residencia*. This was an enforced residence of an official, for several months after his term of office closed, so as to give any person in his district, who had a grievance, an opportunity of entering suit against him. The *corregidor* was subject to this enforced residence, as he was always appointed from outside his *corregimiento*. The *corregidor*, however, was not the only official subject to this regulation, but it was later extended to several others. The purpose of the *residencia* seems to have been two-fold, to secure the highest possible efficiency among officials and to enable the crown to gain a further hold over officials who represented them at a distance.

Spain developed, during the latter Middle Ages, a large degree of independence in local and municipal government. At the center of Spanish municipal government was the council or *consejo*, usually composed of the property owners. Through the council the town officials were appointed; *regidores* or town overseers; *alcaldes* or judges; the *alguacil* or the police officer; and the *alguacil mayor* or the leader of the city's soldiers. The whole body of city officials was called the *ayuntamiento*, or the *cabildo*.

Spanish Municipal Government

The tendency in the government of Spain after the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella was toward centralization. Reforms increasing the royal power were introduced from the beginning of the reign of the Catholic kings. Thus, for in-

stance, Queen Isabella took over the appointment of members of the *ayuntamiento* and greatly increased the authority of the *corregidores*, making them inspectors of cities. In spite of the

**Tendency Toward
Centralization in the
Spanish Government** increase in the numbers of royal officials the monarchs, however, never got over the suspicion that they were being defrauded by

the provincial and district officials, and for this reason officers were appointed whose duty it was to watch other officials. An example of such an official was the *visitador* or inspector, whose duty it was to examine into the administration of justice and finance especially. One office was set over against another, and powers, duties, and privileges were vaguely defined. The colonization of America by the Spaniard took place at the very time absolutism was in the ascendant in Spain; Ferdinand and Isabella followed by Charles V and Philip II "destroyed almost every vestige of popular liberties," and we will look in vain for any self-government in Spanish America with the "exception of the municipalities" (James and Martin, p. 34).

SPANISH INSTITUTIONS ARE TRANSPLANTED TO AMERICA

The machinery of government, already developed or in the process of development, in the mother country was transferred to the colonies. The difficulties in the administration of colonies so vast and so far away were extremely great. The operation of the laws was slow and cumbersome, while official "activities on either side of the ocean were only too often shackled by red tape and routine or else smothered under mountains of documents."

When Pope Alexander VI issued the papal bull, after the first voyage of Columbus, he conveyed to Ferdinand and Isabella the new lands, and nothing was said about the Spanish nation. Thus from the beginning America was considered the

**Position of the
Spanish Sovereigns
in the Government
of the Colonies** property of the Spanish sovereigns and the administration of the affairs of the colonies was carried on with this presumption. From a strictly legal point of view, Mexico, Peru, and

later the other states of equal dignity, appear as kingdoms in a personal union with the kingdom of Spain, rather than

as colonies in the ordinary meaning of that term. "The king of Spain bore much the same relation to the colonies that he bore to the kingdom of Spain itself." The regular governing agencies in Spain, however, had nothing to do with the government of the colonies. New and special agencies were created to assist the king in the governing of his vast colonial kingdoms.

First in rank among these special governing agencies for the colonies stands the Council of the Indies. Its beginning dates from 1493, when Juan de Fonseca, Archbishop of Burgos, was appointed to assist the admiral in preparing for his second voyage, though the council itself was not formed until 1511. In affairs pertaining to the Indies this council was supreme. It had sole right of making laws for the Spanish possessions; it was a court of last resort for all cases pertaining to America;

The Council of the
Indies or Consejo
Real y Junta de
Guerra de Indias

while it advised the king on all questions relating to the administration of American affairs. It early became the custom to appoint persons as members of the council

who had seen service either in America or in the Philippines. The council became fully organized in 1542. Its meeting place was Seville. One of its duties was to collect all available information about the Indies; another was to serve as a nominating board for "all civil and ecclesiastical officers in the Indies." In the course of two hundred years the legislation of this body was collected into a body of law known as the "Laws of the Indies," or *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, which dealt with every duty and right of officials and inhabitants.

Besides the Council of the Indies, another body was created to superintend the economic affairs of the colonies. This body was called the *Casa de Contratación*, or Indian House, and was organized at Seville in 1503, where a house was especially built for its use. The authority of the Casa was derived

The Casa de
Contratación, or
Indian House

from the Council of the Indies. The general purpose of this body was to give the king a rigid monopoly of all colonial trade. It took

account of everything pertaining to the economic affairs of the

Indies. It granted licenses to those going out to the Indies; it supervised the equipping of ships; gave direction to their loading and unloading; in short, its officials supervised every detail of the Indies trade. The officers of the Indian House were a president, treasurer, secretary, agent, three judges, and an attorney. Their duties were prescribed to the last detail and they were hedged about with all manner of restriction. We will have occasion to describe the Indian House more fully in a future chapter.

During the process of settlement and exploration the chief governmental authority in America rested in the hands of a military governor, called the *adelantado*. In Spain this title was given the military governor of a border province. Columbus was given this title, as well as most of the other founders of colonies in America. After the period of settlement was passed the authority in the colony passed usually to the *audiencia*, which often performed all the functions of government.

When fully organized, the heads of the governments in America were the viceroys. In 1574 the Spanish possessions in America were described as consisting of two kingdoms: New Spain, which included Mexico, Central America, and the Islands; and Peru, which included all Spanish territory in South America. These two kingdoms were ruled over by two viceroys, who were the personal representatives of the king, and performed all the royal functions, as though the king were present and reigning in person. The viceroy kept a court modeled after that of Spain; he exercised power of pardon; presided over the *audiencia*, which acted as his council; kept a record of the distribution of the Indians, and acted as judge in cases where they were involved. His power was checked by the *audiencia*, which in cases of dispute could refer matters to the Council of the Indies. The viceroy of Peru was considered the most important, and it became common for the Mexican viceroy to be promoted to the Peruvian viceroyalty. The salary of the viceroy of Mexico was 20,000 ducats while the viceroy of Peru received 30,000. The early viceroys held office for three years,

The Earliest Colonial
Official; the
Adelantado

The Viceroy and His
Functions

but the term might be lengthened or shortened as the monarch pleased.

The colonial official ranking next to the viceroy was the captain-general. The functions of the captain-general were similar to those of the viceroy, except that he ruled over a smaller territory. Thus Venezuela became a captaincy-general in 1777, as did also Cuba, and a year later Chile was raised to that dignity. A fourth captaincy-general was Guatemala or Central America.

Officials of great importance in the Spanish colonies were the governors, *alcaldes*, *mayores* and *corregidores*. The governor presided over the *gobiernos* while the territory of a *corregidor* was called a *corregimientos*. The *corregidor* was particularly important because he had jurisdiction over civil and criminal disputes arising between Spaniards and the Indians and he also collected the Indian tribute. The fact that he had such close contact with the Indian population made the office of *corregidor* particularly open to corruption.

In the colonial towns, both Spanish and Indian, there was a considerable degree of self-government, following the example set by towns and cities in Spain. The municipal councils, or the *cabildos*, generally consisted of six *regedores*, or aldermen, and two *alcaldes*, or justices. At first the founders of cities were allowed to appoint the members of the *cabildo* and they also made assignments of tracts of land to the settlers. Later the town officials were elected by the citizens, though in course of time many offices became hereditary or were sold to the highest bidder.

Besides the divisions into viceroyalties, captaincy-generals, *gobiernos*, and *corregimientos* the colonies were divided into *audiencias*. "Strictly speaking, an *audiencia* was a body of magistrates, constituting at once a supreme court and board of administration for the province." The number of members of the *audiencia* varied with the importance of the tribunal. In the larger centers like Mexico City and Lima there were four *oidores*, or civil

judges; four *alcaldes de crimen*, or criminal judges, and two prosecuting attorneys, while in the less important centers such as Quito, one prosecuting attorney and three to four *oidores* constituted the *audiencia*. The *audiencias* not only acted as a court, but they became advisory councils for the viceroys and captains-general, and during an interregnum assumed all the functions of executive administration. They also had a part in the management of military affairs and exercised authority in the affairs of the church.

In the eighteenth century there were twelve *audiencias* in Spanish America: Santo Domingo, Mexico, Panama, Lima, Guatemala, Guadalajara, Bogota, La Plata, Quito, Cuzco, Chile, and Buenos Aires.

An *audiencia* which was located at the seat of a viceroy or captain-general was presided over by those officials. If, however, an *audiencia* had its seat in a city where there was no viceroy or captain-general, it elected its own presiding officer and the territory over which it exercised authority was known as a *presidency*. Thus the tribunals located at Quito and Guadalajara were *presidencias*, as was also Bogota before it became the seat of a viceroy.

The Spanish institution known as the *residencia* was introduced into the colonies and all crown officials were made subject to it. It provided that all crown officials should remain in the colony a certain period of time after their terms of office were over in order that an examination might be made into their official conduct and their accounts audited. A special court was set up consisting of one or more commissioners. In special cases the official might appeal to the *audiencia* and even to the Council of the Indies. Another means of keeping colonial officials to a strict account was the *visitador*, or inspector. This official could be sent out at any time to look into affairs of any official from viceroy and *audiencia* down.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century still another division was made in the Spanish colonies known as *intendencias*, over which was placed an official called an *intendent*. He directly represented the crown, especially in the financial

administration. Nominally he was independent of the other officials and reported directly to the crown. The first *intendent* appointed for the colonies was that at Habana in 1764; Venezuela received an *intendent* in 1777; in 1782 a chief *intendent* was sent out to Buenos Aires and later seven subordinate *intendents* were located in the principal provincial centers. In 1784 Peru was divided into seven *intendencias* and in 1786 New Spain was divided into twelve. While originally a financial agent of the crown, the *intendent's* duties in America came to be greatly increased, until he was exercising control over practically all matters of government, and "proved a galling restraint upon viceroys, captains-general, and presidents."

The principal financial officials in the several administrative divisions of the colonies were treasurer, comptroller, and business manager. Later (1605) tribunals of accounts were established in the larger administrative divisions, whose duty it was to audit the accounts of the fiscal officials. If there was any dispute, the matter was referred to the *audiencia* and the decision of the majority was binding.

Portugal never developed a colonial system comparable to that of Spain. As we have already seen, at first Brazil was divided into feudal divisions called captaincies, in which the proprietor exercised complete authority. In 1548 a captain-general was appointed who brought all the provinces under his authority. There was a local official in the colonies known as the *corregidor* who exercised both military and judicial power.

In Portugal there was an inspector of finance and a *Casa da Índia* whose duties were similar to those of the *Casa de Contratación* of Spain.

During the seventeenth century Portuguese settlements greatly increased and as a result new captaincies were created. Among these new political divisions created were São Paulo, Minas Geraes, Matto Grosso, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, corresponding largely to the present states of similar names. By the end of the eighteenth century there were

Intendencias and
the Intendent

Financial
Administration

Portuguese Colonial
Administration in the
Sixteenth Century

seventeen captaincies in Brazil. In 1763 the capital was removed from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro, which remained the seat of the viceroy and captain-general until the end of the colonial period. Each captaincy was administered by its own captain-general who directed the civil and military affairs and presided over the tribunal of accounts. Judicial matters in each captaincy were administered by superior and inferior judges while the final judicial authority was vested in two supreme courts, that at Bahia established in 1609; the other in Rio de Janeiro founded in 1751.

Later Developments
in the Portuguese
Administration of
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CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

I. THE TRADE SYSTEM

THE Spanish colonists not only brought with them their religion and forms of government, but also their economic ideas and practices. And yet the economic ideas entertained by Spain in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were much like those held by other European peoples. The chief difference between Spain and England, in their economic dealings with their colonies, was that Spain was able to carry out her economic program and enforced her restrictive trade laws, while England passed similar laws but was entirely unable to enforce them. As far as intention was concerned, England was little different from Spain. As George Bancroft says, "The mercantile restrictive system was the superstition of the age," and was held, not alone by Spain and Portugal, but also by the other colonizing nations of western Europe. The colonies were considered to exist for the benefit of the mother country, and no nation was more successful in carrying out this mistaken idea than Spain.

Spain's Economic
Program in Respect
to Her Colonies

In the year 1503 there was organized in Seville what was known as the *Casa de Contratación*, or Indian House. The purpose of this organization has already been explained. When the Indian House was established it was provided that all trade of the Indies was to be confined to the one Spanish port of Seville. That city maintained the monopoly of trade with little interruption down to 1717, when it was removed to Cadiz, because ships no longer could make their way up the Guadalquivir. In the early years, before the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico came to be an important part of the returning cargoes, ships sailed for the Indies singly. The development of piracy however soon

The Indian House

caused the Indian House to decree that henceforth ships must sail in fleets. The fleet system was officially established in 1561. Down to 1748 two fleets went annually, one bound for Vera Cruz in New Spain, the other to Porto Bello on the isthmus.

When the fleets arrived at their American destination there was inaugurated at each place a great fair, for the sale and distribution of the goods brought over. The Porto Bello fair was the largest and most important, due to the fact that it was the distributing center for all the Peruvian trade. On the arrival of the Porto Bello fleet those who desired to purchase assembled from all the colonies in South America. Ordinarily, the town was small and extremely unhealthy, and during the forty days of the fair it was crowded far beyond its capacity.

The Fair System as
Practiced in the
Spanish Colonies

Rooms for living rented at \$125 for the fair, while display rooms for goods commanded the exorbitant rent of from \$1,000 to \$5,000.

Food was correspondingly dear, and due to the miserable sanitary conditions and overcrowding, the death rate was extremely high. Similar conditions prevailed at Vera Cruz, where in 1556 four members of an English merchant's family of eight died in ten days. Porto Bello was described during fair time by one who saw the conditions as an "open grave." This system of distribution raised the price of goods to a tremendous figure. Goods intended for Peru after they were purchased at Porto Bello were loaded on backs of mules and taken across the isthmus. They were then unloaded upon vessels bound down the coast, and after months of toil and danger finally reached their destination, where they sold for from five to six hundred per cent above their original cost.

For a long time the Indian House was the efficient agent in carrying out this rigid system of commercial control. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, changes were taking place which rendered it more and more difficult for Spain to maintain this strict monopoly. By the treaty of Utrecht (1713) England obtained the contract to furnish slaves to the Spanish colonies, and at the same time she obtained the privilege of sending one ship, of five hundred tons burden, a

year to trade at Porto Bello. England took full advantage of this rift in the Spanish trade monopoly and before long was unloading whole fleets over the deck of this one ship. All trade with the southern part of the continent under this system was compelled to pass through Porto Bello and Peru. This was, of course, greatly to the disadvantage of Buenos Aires. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, Buenos Aires was becoming a great contraband port. It was not, indeed, until that city became a great smuggling port that it began to prosper and grow. After the English and Dutch established colonies in the West Indies, smuggling likewise became common along the northern coast of South America. The English and Dutch colonists served as centers for this trade. In 1762 the English captured Habana, and that port was opened to English ships and the great possibility of free trade was at once shown. Charles III, the reforming king of Spain, three years later, opened up the trade of the Indies to eight Spanish ports besides Cadiz. In 1778 commerce with the Indies was declared free to all Spanish ports, and twenty-four additional ports in Spanish America were opened, including Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Valparaiso, Callao, Guayaquil, and Cartagena.

II. AGRICULTURE IN THE COLONIES

"The principal pursuits of Spanish America were farming, grazing, and mining. The romance of the conquest and of the silver fleets did much to give disproportionate prominence to the production of gold and silver in popular accounts of Spanish colonization." The bulkier agricultural products were not raised for exportation, while the products of the mines found their way to Spain in vast quantities. For this reason mining received much more attention in books. Yet by far the largest majority of people in Latin America lived by agricultural pursuits, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the value of the products of the soil was estimated to have been one third greater than the yield of the mines. When the Spaniards con-

Breaking Down of
the Spanish Trade
Monopoly;
Contraband Trade

Importance of
Agriculture in the
Spanish Colonies

quered Mexico and Peru they found large populations living mostly by agricultural pursuits. The Aztecs cultivated such products as the banana, cocoa, vanilla bean, used then, as now, for flavoring, Indian corn, and the maguey, from which the Aztecs obtained food, drink, clothing, and writing material. The Peruvians were also an agricultural race and understood both the use of irrigation and fertilizer. They raised potatoes, Indian corn, and cotton.

Cortés recognized the importance of agriculture, and recommended that the crown require all vessels coming to America to bring over a certain quantity of seeds and plants. Every grant of land was made on condition that the proprietor plant a specified number of vines. Other regulations, protecting the agricultural interests of the country, were drawn up by Cortés. Cortés himself gave attention to agriculture when he retired to his estates, where he planted sugar cane, flax, and hemp, built a sugar mill, and imported merino sheep and other cattle.

Early Spanish
Agriculture in America

The Spaniards made little advance over the Aztecs and Peruvians in their methods of farming. The sharpened stick, the wooden shovel, the copper hoe, and sickle of the Aztec were no more primitive than the rude plow brought by the Spaniard, and still in use at the close of the eighteenth century. The chief interest in the islands soon came to be the production of sugar. Sugar culture began in Cuba in 1520, the cane being brought from Haiti, but until 1553 none was exported. After this, however, the industry rapidly increased, and by 1775 there were four hundred and seventy-three sugar plantations on the island. As we have already observed, agriculture was from the first the most important industry in Brazil.

Humboldt, the celebrated traveler who visited Spanish America in 1799-1804, has written extensively upon the Spanish colonies. Speaking of agriculture in Mexico, he says, "Harvests are surprising when lands are carefully cultivated, especially in those which are watered." Mexican wheat was of the best quality and in good years the country produced much more Indian corn than the people could consume. Mexico was also rich in vegetables, nutritive roots, and potatoes.

Humboldt notes the great number of cattle, especially along the eastern coast. Many Mexican families possessed from thirty to forty thousand head of horses and cattle.

Later Agriculture in
the Colonies

Mules were common and would have been much more numerous if so many had not

perished through excessive fatigue. The commerce of Vera Cruz alone employed nearly 7,000 annually. The wealth of Venezuela was entirely agricultural or from cattle. In 1780 there were exported from Venezuela 30,000 mules, 174,000 ox hides, and 3,500,000 pounds of tasajo, or dried meat. Ulloa was much impressed with the agricultural prosperity of Peru. Along the Salto, an irrigated valley, he saw maize, fruits, and vegetables produced in the greatest plenty. Cattle-raising was everywhere an important industry and beef was very cheap. In one instance a herd of six thousand cattle sold for \$2.25 a head. Large individual fortunes were not uncommon in Latin America. Thomas Gage, an English friar, speaks of farmers worth from 20,000 to 40,000 ducats, and even Indians worth from 10,000 to 20,000.

III. MINING

Stories of the fabulous wealth of America began to be circulated immediately on its discovery, and every Spaniard was on the lookout for treasure. Columbus on his last voyage found the natives of Honduras wearing gold ornaments, and he heard reports of distant realms where gold was to be found in abundance. In the early years, however, very little gold or

The First Gold and
Silver Found by the
Spaniards

silver was obtained from the new dominions of Spain; indeed, it was not until the conquest of Mexico that large treasure was discovered.

The first gold and silver obtained was in the shape of ornaments and vessels used in the native temples. The ransom of Atahualpa consisted of plate, temple decorations, golden ears of corn in cases of silver, etc. All of these, except the finest specimens—which were set aside for royal presents—were melted down into ingots of uniform size. The Spaniards made very little improvement on the native mining methods, and the returns from the first mining ventures were not large.

The Indians obtained their gold by skimming the surface of the ground or washing the sand in the streams. Humboldt

Early Spanish Mining
in the Colonies

says, however, that the Aztecs were versed in the building of subterranean shafts. The

natives smelted their ore in a crude manner, using blowpipes of bamboo to increase the heat. In Peru ore was smelted in small round furnaces, fed by charcoal and sheep's excrements.

The first of the great mines of Mexico were discovered in 1539, among which were Taxco, Sultepec, and Tzumpanco. The rich silver mine of Potosi was found (1545) by an Indian, while clambering up the mountain in pursuit of a llama. At that time it was the richest mine in the world. The discovery of these exceedingly rich mines gave rise to exaggerated reports as to the richness of ores. The number of mines, how-

Discovery of Rich
Mines, and New
Mining Methods

ever, steadily advanced with a corresponding increase of output. The mines were a great

source of private wealth and from them the crown obtained great revenue, through the royal fifth. At first only the richest ores were worked, especially in those regions where fuel was scarce, but in 1557 a new method of extracting ores, by the use of quicksilver, was discovered, which rendered ores, formerly considered worthless, valuable. After this discovery Spain made a monopoly of quicksilver, partly for the revenue and partly to keep track of the amount of metal produced. Miners made returns in proportion to the quantity of quicksilver distributed. When mercury deposits were discovered in New Spain the government extended its monopoly to include these mines also.

In 1800 the mining region of New Spain covered about 12,225 square leagues, according to Humboldt. This was divided into thirty-seven departments with about five hundred subdivisions, or *reales de mines*, each of which comprised about 3,000 miners.

Mining Laws;
Returns from the
Mines

In 1777 a new code of laws governing mines, known as "*Ordenanzas de la Minería de Nueva España*," was drawn up, which pro-

vided for a general council to be made up of representatives from each of the thirty-seven districts. This body was to look

after the interests of the mines and miners. Robertson estimates that the quantity of gold and silver entered annually into the ports of Spain from 1492 to 1850 was about equal to \$20,000,000. Humboldt estimates the annual average production from the mines from 1493 as follows:

1493-1500.....	250,000 pesos
1500-1545.....	3,000,000 pesos
1545-1600.....	11,000,000 pesos
1600-1700.....	16,000,000 pesos
1700-1750.....	22,500,000 pesos
1750-1803.....	35,300,000 pesos

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the total annual production has been calculated at 43,500,000 pesos, or about ten times the known production of the rest of the world. Robertson estimates that in the latter eighteenth century a fifth of the annual product of the mines was about \$7,425,000.

IV. ROADS AND TRAVEL

"An important difference between the Spanish and English settlers in America is that in the one case the settlers have found or made roads over which they could drag their belongings on carts, or wagons, while in the other case they have been content to carry their outfit on backs of mules and have not insisted that their settlements should be connected with the rest of the world by carriage roads."¹ The chief method of travel in colonial Latin America was by mule back, though in the early years of Spanish colonization Indian carriers were used extensively. Goods were brought to and from the fairs by these two means. The Indian carrier traveled rapidly, bearing a hundred pounds upon his head, while the mule did not carry more than twice that amount. The difficulty of the roads

Roads and Travel in
Latin America

among the mountains was increased by neglect. Ulloa, describing his experience in Peru, says, "If a tree . . . happens to fall across the road and stops up the passage, no person will be at the pains to remove it, and though all passing that way

¹ Bernard Moses, "Economic Conditions of Spain in the Sixteenth Century," *American Historical Association Report*, 1893, p. 130.

are put to no small difficulty by such an obstacle, it is suffered to continue; neither the government nor those who frequent the road taking any care to have it drawn away." When the tree is so large as to fill the entire passage, the Indians cut away enough of the trunk to permit the mules to leap over, after being unloaded. This causes delay and perhaps damage to the goods, but no one ever thinks of entirely removing the obstacle. Such cases, he says, are general all over the country, especially where roads lead over mountains and through forests.¹

The common roads of Cuba were little more than open portions of the country without grading or repairs of any kind.

Roads in Cuba

During the rainy season they were impassable, and transportation of sugar for only short distances was very costly. Because of the infrequency of travel in the island there were no hotels or taverns. Humboldt observes that the best roads were found in the western part of the island and as one traveled east the roads became steadily worse.

Wherever possible water transportation was used. Ulloa describes two kinds of boats upon the Chagres in Panama, one being a kind of raft called a *chatas*, of great breadth and drawing little water, while the other was made from one piece of timber. Negroes were used in propelling these boats. The Indians of Peru had rafts which they propelled with sails, while the Indians about Lake Titicaca made a kind of straw boat for use on the lake. The Paraguay, the Uruguay, and the Paraná were convenient highways, not only for small boats, but likewise for ships, as were also the Orinoco, Amazon, and the Magdalena.

Travel between Vera Cruz and Mexico City, toward the close of the colonial period, was rendered much more convenient and easy because of the construction of an excellent highway over the mountains. This road was lined with taverns and lodging houses supported by the king. Travel was either by mule or a kind of sedan chair, which was carried by the Indians. In 1793 six coaches were placed upon the streets of Mexico, and

Roads and Travel in Mexico

¹ Jorve Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Voyages*, pp. 273, 274.

in the next year the proprietors were granted a concession to open up a stage line between Mexico City and Guadalajara. The stages were to run weekly and were not to carry more than four passengers. The price for one passenger to Guadalajara was \$200; two passengers, \$105 each; and four were to pay \$62.50 each. The return was half price. Between 1803 and 1812 a fine highway was built between Mexico and Vera Cruz at a cost of 3,000,000 pesos.

The most important overland routes in South America were from Buenos Aires to Santiago de Chile, and from Buenos Aires to Lima. The fact that no trade could come in or leave by the port of Buenos Aires compelled the La Plata merchants to resort to Lima for their goods. The distance between Buenos Aires and Lima is nearly

South American
Overland Routes

twenty-eight hundred miles, and the usual

method of travel over this long road was by slow oxcart carrying about five thousand pounds. After 1748 taverns and post houses were established along the route and carriages might be obtained. Travel over this long trail, however, was always exceedingly expensive and most inconvenient. The route from Buenos Aires to Santiago was over the pampas until Mendoza was reached, whence the traveler exchanged his carriage for a mule. In the trip to Lima the carriage was left at Salta, where the traveler mounted a mule to make his way over the mountains.¹

V. LABOR AND SLAVES

Labor in colonial Latin America was performed by the Indians and Negro slaves. At first the Spaniards depended upon the Indians to work their plantations and mines. This, however, proved extremely destructive of Indian life. The *encomienda* system, whereby colonists were granted Indians to cultivate the land, became universal throughout Latin America. The *mita* was a bodily service demanded of the Indians. The Indian population was divided into seven parts and every mine owner had the right to demand from the district the number of Indians he

Encomienda and Mita

¹ Bernard Moses, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, vol ii, pp. 382-395.

required. Every male had to render this service, which lasted six months. At the end of that time, if the Indian survived, he had accumulated a debt to the proprietor which he could not pay, and as a result he remained in perpetual servitude. So destructive of life was the *mita* that the calling out of an Indian for this service was considered equivalent to a sentence of death, and before setting out he disposed of his belongings, and his relatives went through the funeral service before him. It has been estimated that in Peru alone, in the course of three hundred years, the *mita* claimed eight million victims. The Indians working under this system received about ten cents a day. In Peru and Quito the *mita* system was extended to the farms and factories, and here the Indians were reduced to practical slavery. They were underfed, overworked, and in every way mistreated. The workers in the royal tobacco factories in Mexico received about thirty cents a day, while a laborer in Venezuela received fifteen sous a day, besides his food.

Indian Labor

Negro slaves were early introduced into the islands. We have records of Negroes being sent to Haiti as early as 1502, while in 1510 Ferdinand directed the Indian House to send over fifty slaves. Soon traffic in slaves between the Guinea coast and America was under way. The Spaniards found the Negro much more efficient than the Indian and the demand for them greatly increased. Las Casas, the apostle to the Indians, favored the use of Negroes, and finally succeeded in persuading the government to protect the Indians by sending out four thousand Negroes. This was the beginning of a settled policy. The government supplied the slaves to her colonies by letting a contract, called the *asiento*, by which a certain number of slaves were to be supplied yearly. This contract was held by various holders, and finally, by the treaty of Utrecht (1713), came into the possession of the English government. During much of the time previous to this it had been held by Portuguese. The contract was immensely profitable and the holders were willing to pay great sums to the Spanish government for the privileges it gave. Besides this legitimate slave

Negro Slaves and the
Slave Trade

trade there grew up an illicit trade in slaves, begun by John Hawkins in 1562, which brought to Spanish America several hundreds and even thousands of slaves each year.

Negro slavery, however, never obtained a great hold upon Latin America outside the islands, the northern coast regions of South America, and Brazil. Indians continued to perform much of the work in New Spain, and in the census of 1793 only six thousand slaves were returned. Peru had many more Negroes than Mexico. At the end of the eighteenth century there were nearly a hundred thousand free Negroes and slaves in Peru. As a whole the Spaniards were mild masters, and the Spanish slave code was much less severe than that of either the French or the English. In Peru the law allowed a slave to work for himself several hours each day. He had the right to appeal to the courts if cruelly treated and might there be declared free. Negroes

Number and	
Treatment of Negro	
Slaves	

might question the legality of their enslavement, and the courts were ready to hear their cause; in fact, Spanish law and administration favored emancipation wherever possible. In consequence of this liberal and humane treatment the number of free Negroes tended to rapidly increase. The slave population of Cuba, Haiti, and Jamaica was large. In 1823 Humboldt gives the total population of Cuba at 715,000, of whom 260,000 were slaves and 130,000 free Negroes; at the same time Jamaica had a total population of 402,000, with 342,000 slaves, 35,000 free Negroes, and only about 25,000 whites. An adult male slave in Cuba at the end of the eighteenth century was worth from \$450 to \$500; a newly imported African from \$370 to \$400. The cost of keeping a Negro slave in Cuba was from \$45 to \$50 a year, or about twenty-five cents a day.

VI. TAXES, IMPOSTS, AND REVENUE

To the North American, familiar with the colonial history of the thirteen English colonies, the number and amount of taxes collected by Spain from her American possessions seems unbelievable. Perhaps the greatest contrast between the colonies of England and those of Spain lies here. England obtained no direct revenue from her colonies, and even the famous

Stamp Act, which was the immediate cause of the Revolution, was not intended to produce revenue for England. Rather, the

English and Spanish
Colonies Contrasted
in Respect to Taxes

Stamp Act was passed to help pay the expenses of maintaining English soldiers in America, whom England placed there for America's protection. On the other hand, Spain obtained vast financial returns from her American possessions, and at the close of the eighteenth century she was utilizing every possible resource for obtaining increased revenue. "No possible opportunity of drawing wealth into the royal exchequer was thrown away; luxuries, industries, and vices were alike made to contribute their quota. By the end of the eighteenth century there were more than sixty sources from which revenue was obtained."¹

For the first few years of the colonial period the principal source of revenue was Indian tribute. The Indians who had made war upon the Spaniards were the first made to pay this tax. Later, when Montezuma became the vassal of the king of Spain, he sent valuable presents to Charles V, and soon after the capture of Mexico an order was issued requiring the Indians to pay a regular sum into the royal treasury. At first this tax amounted to one third of all produce, or an equivalent in the precious metals. This was far too heavy to be borne

Indian Tribute and the
Royal Fifth

and was steadily reduced, and finally abolished in 1810. This tax, however, through most of the colonial period, was a very important source of revenue, and in 1504 a general officer was appointed to manage its collection. Another of the earliest taxes imposed was the royal fifth. This was established in 1504 and required that all products of mines—gold, silver, quicksilver, tin—as well as all treasures, or treasure trove, were to pay a royal tax of one fifth. In 1528 an inspector of mines was appointed for Mexico, part of whose duty was to collect this tax. In some instances it was found to be discouraging to mines and was reduced to one tenth in 1572, and toward the close of the eighteenth century it was still further reduced to three per cent on gold and eleven per cent on silver.

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, vol. iii, pp. 655ff.

The most profitable of all taxes was the *alcavala*. This was a tax on sales, which had been known in Spain since the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1568 Philip II decided to introduce the tax into the Indies, though it was not actually collected in Mexico until 1574 and in Peru in 1591. In 1588 it was imposed upon the Indians. This was a very burdensome tax. The smallest articles and the commonest necessities of life, as they passed from one owner to another, were taxed over and over again. On property like land, which sold but seldom, it was not burdensome, but upon small articles of merchandise which changed hands frequently the tax soon absorbed the value of the article. At first the tax was two per cent, but later it was doubled and trebled.

Another fruitful source of revenue was the maritime dues, or import and export duties. The import duty on cotton and woolen goods and articles of food was $35\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; on linen and silk articles, $29\frac{1}{2}$. Some articles paid fixed duties, such as flour, which paid \$2 per barrel if shipped from Spain, and \$10.75 if from a foreign port. Export duties were imposed arbitrarily without any regard to the value of goods. Coffee paid 20 cents a quintal; sugar, $87\frac{1}{2}$ cents a box; and cigars 75 cents per thousand. Besides tonnage duties were collected; Spanish vessels paid $62\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton; foreign vessels, \$1.50 per ton.

Besides the three great internal taxes, Indian tributes, the royal fifth and the *alcavala*, there were many others. For every head of beef butchered \$3.50 was paid; for every sheep and goat, $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents; for every arroba of swine, $31\frac{1}{4}$ cents. Paper for common use was divided into six classes, the taxes on each sheet ranging from \$8 to five cents. Stamps were used on bills of exchange and notes. Judges collected fees; a tax of four per cent was levied on cost of judicial proceedings; an impost was levied on shops and stores; in short, every possible source of revenue was exploited.

Monopolies conducted by the crown were still another source of royal income. Quicksilver was the first of such monopolies.

No sooner was the new process of obtaining metals from ores, by means of quicksilver, discovered than the crown seized the opportunity of increasing the means of revenue. Gunpowder was another monopoly held by the government. At first the monopoly was sold to the Ortega family, but in 1776 the government took it over. A monopoly on salt was established in 1580. Tobacco was the most productive of the royal monopolies, and tobacco production was prohibited except under contract with the government, and all tobacco factories were directly under government management. Other government monopolies were ice, playing cards, and cock pits. In 1769 a government lottery was established and the profits from this source alone in 1798 were \$109,255. Pulque, the native drink, paid a heavy tax, as did also other liquors.

Royal Monopolies

The church was also made to contribute her quota to the royal income. The chief revenue from this source was from the "*Bull of Cruzada*." This, as described by Robertson, "contained an absolution from past offenses by the Pope, and among other things a permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food during Lent and other fast days." The bulls were very widely sold, the monks extolling their virtues "with all the fervor of interested eloquence, and were purchased by every class of society. The price varied according to the rank of the purchaser. The bull was first published in Spain in 1533. They were divided into two classes, *bulas de vivos*, dispensations for the living, and *bulas de difuntos*, which friends and relatives purchased for deceased persons. In New Spain during one sale 2,649,325 bulls were sold, and the same year 1,172,953 were sold in Peru. Church tithes were also another source of revenue for the king. In 1501 the Pope granted the king of Spain the right of collecting church tithes in the Indies. At first the tithes were devoted entirely to the church, but later part of these dues found their ways into the royal treasury." "Everything, from silk and cocoa, to lentils and pot herbs," paid the church tithe, all of which, we must remember, was in addition to the other taxes imposed.

Revenues from the Church

And even yet the list is not complete. There was a tax on slaves imported; offices were sold to the highest bidder; many nonsalaried administrative officials collected fees for their services, as did also nonsalaried judicial officials. At every turn the Spanish colonist met taxes and exactions.

To guard the royal revenue the strictest laws were enacted to govern the revenue officials. Treasury officials could not engage in commercial enterprises nor work mines. Certain offices, such as that of *corregidor* and *alcalde mayor*, were closed against them, nor could they hold Indians in *encomienda*.

The safe where the royal money was kept had three locks, each with a separate key, and each of the three chiefs of the department held a key, so that the safe could not be unlocked unless all three were present. And even the office door where the safe was kept had similar locks. Other provisions, prescribing most minutely the duties of the treasury officials, limiting the actions of their sons and daughters, were enacted. And yet all these regulations did not keep out corruption nor guard sufficiently the king's revenue.

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CHAPTER X

SOCIETY IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

No adequate comprehension of Spanish colonial society, nor, indeed, of Latin-American society of to-day, can be obtained unless we first understand the relationship of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors with the Indians. We of North America are quite apt to conclude at once, without a very careful investigation, that the Spaniard especially was much more cruel in his dealings with the Indians than were our forefathers.

Spanish Treatment of the Indians

We are sure, however, that an impartial student will, upon close study, come to the conclusion that the Spaniard was no worse in this respect than the Englishman. This conclusion, however, does not relieve the Spaniard of just criticism. Just as the Spaniard transferred his political institutions to America, so also he brought over his religion, his ideas and ideals. The early Spanish conquerors were soldiers, and the long wars with the Moors, and the presence of the Jews had bred into the Spanish character strong religious fanaticism. The Spanish Inquisition had accustomed him to the public burnings of heretics, and when he came in contact with the Indians of America he treated them as he had seen so-called heretics in Spain treated.

During the long period of reconquest of Spain from the Moors, it became the custom to divide the conquered lands among the followers of the conqueror. Thus when King James I of Aragon subdued the Moorish kingdom of Valencia the

The Encomienda and the Repartimientos and Their Spanish Origin

captured territory was divided up among his followers. At times also captive Moors and their serfs were distributed with the lands. This custom came to be known as the *Repartimientos* (the dividing up) and was readily transferred to America when the Spanish conquerors began to subdue the Indians and appropriate their lands. At the time of

the Spanish colonization of America there existed great estates in Spain which were cultivated by peasants who were still practically serfs—that is, they were attached to the soil. There was also a practice, sometimes followed in Castile, where a small proprietor or free peasants placed themselves under the protection of a noble, and this was termed the *encomienda*,¹ from the verb *encomiendar*, which means placing yourself under another's protection. As we shall see, both of these practices or institutions were brought to America, where conditions were particularly favorable for their operation.

Columbus, finding Indians on the island, thought they would make good servants. On his return to Spain, however, he was instructed by the monarchs to deal kindly with the natives. In spite of this admonition Columbus captured six hundred Indians and sent them to Spain as slaves. This action was quickly repudiated by the queen especially, who promptly ordered them sent back. Later Columbus began a policy of levying tribute upon the natives, and those who could not

The Beginning of the
Encomienda System in
the Spanish Colonies

pay were compelled to work. Under the successors of Columbus the enslavement of the Indians, under the system of *encomienda*, was carried much further, and was soon extended to all the islands. From the islands it was brought to the mainland. The *encomienda* has been defined as "a right, conceded by royal bounty to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the Indians who should be assigned to them, with the charge of providing for the good of those Indians in spiritual and temporal matters, and of inhabiting and defending the provinces where these *encomiendas* should be granted to them." The system of *encomienda* was not slavery, since individual Indians might not be bought and sold, but the system corresponded more nearly to mediæval serfdom.

The Spanish monarchs were kindly disposed toward the Indians, and especially was this true of Isabella. She gave definite instructions to Ovando not to enslave the Indians. After the death of the good queen, Ferdinand relaxed more and

¹ The terms *encomienda* and *repartimientos* are frequently used interchangeably.

more in his opposition to enslavement of the Indians, and when pressed by suitors for favors he gave them Indians. Some of the recipients of these gifts came to America, while others became absentee proprietors, and farmed out their Indians. In 1512 Ferdinand issued an ordinance forbidding anyone in the Indies holding more than three hundred Indians. This ordinance also laid down certain regulations in respect to their treatment. The settlers were to use gentle means in get-

Treatment of the
Indians During
the Early Period

ting the natives to come willingly; large huts were to be provided for every fifty Indians; and a certain amount of land for the growing

of food should be set apart for each fifty; when working in mines the Indians were required to work five months at a time, when they were to enjoy a period of rest of forty days, during which time they might cultivate land on their own account. In 1523 the crown forbade the granting of *repartimientos* in Mexico, though this order was later withdrawn. By 1532 the system was extended to Peru by Pizarro. In 1536 a law was promulgated granting Indians in *encomienda* for two lives. In the meanwhile Las Casas had been at work in the Indian's behalf. He had labored successfully in behalf of the conversion of the Indians, and had preached incessantly in favor of their liberation. In his celebrated book, *The Destruction of the Indies*, he had argued powerfully for liberation. Finally his long labors were successful in securing the adoption of what was known as the *New Laws*. These laws provided that after the death of the conquerors the Indians which had been given to them in *encomienda*, were not to pass to their heirs, but were to go to the king. Personal service of Indians was to be entirely abolished, although the *encomiendros* was to retain the right to a moderate tribute.

Bartholomew de las Casas, known as the apostle to the Indians, who had accomplished this result almost single-handed,

Bartholomew de las
Casas

was one of the most remarkable men produced in the Spanish colonies. He had accompanied his father on one of the expeditions

of Columbus to the West Indies and there had received holy orders, being the first priest to be ordained in America. He

soon became convinced that the way the Spaniards were treating the Indians was wrong, and resolved to devote the remainder of his life to them. His book, *The Destruction of the Indies*, describes in detail the cruelty of the Spaniards in their treatment of the Indians, and his writings are largely responsible for our low estimate of Spanish character. His great book was translated into all the principal languages of Europe, and, judged by our present standards, should be called a great piece of propaganda rather than a historical account of Spanish colonization.

Although Las Casas succeeded in securing the *New Laws*, when the attempt was made to enforce them in the colonies they were strongly resisted. The attempted execution of the *New Laws* in Peru caused a rebellion of the settlers, while in Mexico the inhabitants on learning of them resolved to clothe themselves in mourning. The officials sent to carry them out met with petitions and remonstrances against their publication. In spite of these remonstrances the laws were published in 1542, and a revolt was threatened. Rebellion, however, was allayed by the bishop calling a meeting at the cathedral, the clergy as a whole not being in favor of the laws, as they themselves held Indians in *encomienda*. Finally, the next year a royal decree was issued revoking the laws. The system of *encomienda* continued until well on into the eighteenth century and was finally abolished by Charles III.

Whatever may be said of the cruelties practiced by the Spanish colonists upon the Indians, this much must be said for the Spanish government and its Indian legislation: it did all in its power to protect the Indians, and "the Indian legislation of the Spanish kings is an impressive movement of benevolent intentions which need not fear comparison with the contemporary legislation of any European country affecting the status of the working classes" (Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America*, p. 256). In the last hundred years and more of Spanish rule in America there were various laws enacted designed to protect and civilize the Indians. One such law provided that Indian villages were to be entirely separated

The Attempt to
Enforce the New Laws

from Spanish towns, and neither whites nor mulattoes were allowed to settle there. Each village had its own Indian chief, or *cacique*, though he exercised his authority under the *corregidor*, who was designated the protector of the Indians. The Indians were classed as minors, and they were treated as such, and were exempt from the Inquisition and also from the payment of the *alcabala* or the sales tax.

Just before the middle of the eighteenth century two Spaniards, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, visited South America, and resided for some years in Peru and Ecuador. On the king's command they wrote an account of their observations as to the treatment of the Indians. The report, known as *Noticias Secretas de America*, is a damning arraignment of the Spanish colonial officials and of the colonists. The report shows

The Humane Indian
Policy of the Spanish
Government

that the *corregidores*, who were charged with the collection of the Indian tribute, greatly abused their office for their own enrichment.

Certain classes of Indians were legally exempt from paying tribute, but the *corregidor* paid no heed to these exemptions, and collected from every Indian, and kept all he could collect over and above what was required by law. The *corregidor* exercised almost absolute power in his district and the Indians had no redress. Another means of exploitation employed by this official was through his sale of goods to the natives. This was originally intended as a benefit, but as used by the *corregidores* was an unmitigated curse. Instead of consulting the

The Secret Report of
George Juan and
Antonio de Ulloa

Indian's needs, he brought those articles which he could obtain cheaply and on credit, and then proceeded to distribute them among

the Indians according to their ability to pay. For instance, one *corregidor* bought a supply of spectacles, and required that every Indian wear them when he went to mass; silk stockings were distributed among barefooted Indians; meat of dead animals, unfit to eat, was parceled out among the natives, for which they were charged exorbitant prices.

On the estates the Indians worked three hundred days in the year, and received \$18; of this sum \$8 was taken for tribute

Exploitation of the
Natives by the
Corregidor

money. In the cotton factories the native workers were locked in at the beginning of the day, and were required to do a certain amount of work; if

Indian Wages

not completed at the close of the day they were cruelly flogged. The priests seemed to work hand in hand with the *corregidor* and others to despoil the Indians. The poor natives were charged for every service performed by the church. One curate in the province of Quito reported that "he collected every year

The Church and the
Indians

more than 200 sheep, 5,000 hens and chickens, 4,000 guinea pigs, 50,000 eggs," and this curacy, we are reminded, was not one of the most lucrative. The monks who held curacies carried oppression to its utmost bounds. The monks generally had an Indian concubine, under whose charge were all the women and children of the parish, whom she exploited by converting all the village into a manufactory for her profit. Altogether the Ulloa report gives an exceedingly dark picture of conditions prevailing among the Indians, which we are compelled to believe because of the official standing and loyalty to the church of the men who made it.

The Spaniards, because of their contact with the Mohammedan life in Spain, had become very tolerant of irregular relations of the sexes. Plural marriages were recognized by the laws, and among the clergy celibacy was more an ideal than a fact. Concubinage was common among both priests and monks, while among the laity the marriage bond was lightly borne both by husbands and wives. Life in America did not improve the Spaniard's morals, but tended, rather, to accentuate the condition prevalent in Spain. The early Spanish conquerors came to America without their women, and

Intermarriage of
Natives with
Spaniards

they seem to have possessed no moral or racial feeling against mingling their blood with that of the natives. When Ovando came to Hispaniola he found practically all the Spaniards had taken Indian women as concubines. The Franciscan monks protested against this condition, and the governor ordered that the Spaniards should either marry these women or separate from them. Ferdinand made an attempt to send out white

women to be the wives of the settlers, but this expedient proved inadequate, and two years later a royal ordinance was issued legalizing marriage between the natives and the Spaniards. Many of the *conquistadores* had wives in Spain, and Governor Ovando attempted to send those having wives back to Spain, but later married men were not allowed to come out to the Indies without their wives. Unmarried Spanish women were prevented by law from emigrating to America.

As we have already seen, Irala, while governor of Asunción, allowed the practice of polygamy, Irala himself espousing the seven daughters of the principal chief. On his death he asked, in his will, that the children by these wives be considered as Spaniards. White women were extremely rare in Chile, and we are told that every Spanish trooper was attended by from four to six native women. The long wars with the warlike Araucanians had killed off the native men, and the ratio of

**Examples of Race
Mixture**

soldiers to native women in the frontier garisons was one to four. In a single week in 1580 sixty illegitimate children were born in a post where there were a hundred and sixty soldiers. Married men kept concubines in great numbers, and Aguirre, one of the *conquistadores*, left on his death fifty illegitimate sons, to say nothing of daughters. In 1776 it was estimated that in Santiago women were ten times as numerous as men, while Humboldt, in 1803, estimates that only one tenth of the European-born Spaniards in Mexico were women. Out of such free mixing of the races a great variety of types naturally came.

At the top of the social scale stood the European-born Spaniard, or the *chapeton*. This class contained the great landholders and the important officers in church and state. After the *chapeton* came the creole, or the American-born Spaniard. The creole, like the *chapeton*, was a pure white, many of them being the descendants of the conquerors, and in many cases they also held large estates. They were deprived of the offices in both church and state, which was the cause of a growing friction between the two white classes. Ranking third was the mestizo, the race resulting from the mingling of the blood

of the natives with that of the Spaniards. In some instances they were almost on a level with the creole, and held considerable property, but more often they were artisans. Distinctly lower than the mestizo was the mulatto, of white and Negro parentage. He performed the coarser labor, though at the time of the revolutions some of this class had attained honorable positions. We have already treated the Indian at some length, his social status being that of an enforced laborer. At the foot of the social ladder were the Negroes, and the mixture of the Negro and the Indian, the zambo. At first Negroes had been brought over as slaves, but they were never numerous, outside the islands, and the northern part of South America, and in Brazil. In the other parts of the country they were to be found about the ports. Many succeeded in gaining their freedom, and when free they often rose above the Indians in the social scale. A spirit of jealousy prevailed among the various social classes. This social discontent, however, was looked upon with favor by the government, considering it an element of safety, and therefore no effort was made to allay it.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AS AN ELEMENT IN LATIN AMERICAN SOCIETY

By far the most important social organization in colonial Latin America was the Catholic Church. The religious motive had always been a dominant one among the Spanish *conquistadores*, and the work of converting the Indians to Christianity was not alone undertaken by the church, but this worthy work was seconded by civil power. "No church, monastery, or hospital could be erected except in accordance with the king's ordinances," while a goodly proportion of the revenues of the church found its way into the royal treasury.

We have already noticed the intense religious spirit engendered among the Spaniards by the long wars with the Moors. At the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, at the request of the sovereigns, the Pope granted them extraordinary powers in rooting out heresy in their kingdoms. They were

permitted to appoint inquisitors who were to have jurisdiction over heretics. This was the beginning of the famous "Spanish Inquisition." The first tribunal was established at Seville and later others were located in other cities, and a Council of the Inquisition was authorized. The old Inquisitorial courts had been controlled by the church, but the new courts were directly

The Roman Catholic
Church in Spain: the
Spanish Inquisition;
Religious Orders

under the royal authority and eventually independent of even the Holy See. The religious orders were strong and influential in Spain at the time of the founding of the Spanish colonial empire, especially the Franciscans and the Dominicans, while the Society of Jesus or the Jesuit order, founded 1537 by the Spanish Ignatius Loyala, became the most important of all.

Under Ferdinand and Isabella and their Hapsburg successors the power of the king in ecclesiastical matters gradually grew at the expense of the papacy. In 1516 the Pope agreed that no bulls should be published in Spain without the consent of the sovereign and more and more the Spanish church came under the royal control.

There were three distinct types of work carried on by the church in America. First was the work in the Spanish towns, in charge of a cura or priest, which was a work similar to that of a parish priest in Spain; second, the work in the *pueblos de Indios*, or Indian villages, which was in charge of two or more friars or of a cura; third, the work carried on among the wild Indians by the missionaries. The missionary pushed out into the wilderness, penetrating remote regions where savages were numerous, and began to teach them the elements of civilization and Christianity. If successful, the next step was to gather the Indians together into a mission, generally called a reduction. Here schools were organized and elementary instruction was given in Christian doctrine and some of the more simple mechanical arts and in letters. When this had been accomplished the missionary moved on and the villages became a *pueblo de Indios* and a curate was placed in charge.

From the first, missionaries accompanied the Spanish ex-

plorers and conquerors. The missionaries generally belonged to the religious orders, and the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and the Capuchins were the most active at the beginning. Ordinarily, the missionaries were independent of the civil officials and partitioned the land and gathered the Indians into communities as they saw fit. The most successful of the religious orders in their work among the Indians were the Jesuits. By royal sanction the Jesuits were granted the privilege of Christianizing the Indians in the wilds of what is now Paraguay. These missions were well sheltered from all outside interference and were ideally located to keep out intrusion from outsiders. Here a series of communistic Indian communities were established, numbering by the end of the seventeenth century more than forty, the largest containing a population of twenty thousand. In each village were two Jesuit residents, one the *cura*, who occupied himself largely with the administration of the temporal affairs of the *pueblo*, and the other called the *companero*, or vice-*cura*, who had charge of the spiritual direction. Over all the missions was a *superior*. The Jesuits were in complete control of their missions and there was no appeal to a higher authority.

Indians of both sexes and of all ages were compelled to labor for the community, and the product of their labor was stored up by the *cura*, who distributed it equally and without distinction. The *pueblos* were all laid out according to a uniform plan. The most important building was the church and adjoining was the missionaries' house, then the storehouse and public granaries; the shops for the different trades came next, then the houses of the Indians. Although there were doubtless defects in the work of the Jesuits, yet on the whole they accomplished wonders.¹ Perhaps the chief criticism that can be lodged against the work of the Jesuits was the fact that the Indians were not prepared, when left to themselves, to carry on their own affairs. They had been so effectively

The Defects of the
Work of the Jesuits:
Their Expulsion and
Its Result

¹ A good summary of the criticisms of the work of the Jesuits in Paraguay may be found in Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, pp. 222-240.

under the control of the Jesuits and so completely cut off from the outside world that they failed to learn how to adapt themselves to an individualistic society. In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from the region of the Rio de la Plata and the missions came under the control of the governor at Buenos Aires.¹ Almost immediately the missions began to disintegrate. The secular officials looked upon the missions as a mine to be exploited and the communities were soon impoverished. The Indians had become accustomed to absolute authority under the Jesuits and now they submitted without a protest to their new masters who assumed authority over them. It was the Jesuit missions which were responsible for producing the type of character which made possible the reigns of the dictators in Paraguay after independence such as Doctor Francia and the two Lopezes.²

Among the most interesting of the missions were those planted in what is now California, New Mexico, and Texas. Father Eusebio Kino, a Jesuit, undertook the establishment of missions in Lower California in 1695, which, however, soon disappeared. A Franciscan, Padre Hidalgo, planted a mission at San Antonio in 1718. In 1769 another Franciscan, Junípero Serra, founded a mission at San Diego; in 1776 Juan Bautista de Anza established a mission at San Francisco, and later Padre Serra planted nine other missions on the Pacific Coast.

By the end of the eighteenth century six archbishoprics had been established in Spanish America and one in Brazil. Under the archbishop of Santo Domingo were five bishoprics; in the archbishopric of Mexico were eight dioceses; in that of Central America or Guatemala there were three; in the archbishopric of Lima there were nine; under the archbishop of the Caracas were five bishops, while under the archbishop at Bogota there were four bishops. The head of the Brazilian archbishopric was Bahia, and by the end of the eighteenth century there were nine Brazilian bishops, though two were under the jurisdiction of the archbishop at Lisbon. All the higher ecclesi-

¹ The number of Jesuits sent from the region of the Rio de la Plata was 397. Bernard Moses, p. 231.

² Bernard Moses, *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, p. 236.

astical officials in Spanish America were nominated to the Pope by the Spanish king and no papal bull could be published in

the colonies without the consent of the Council of the Indies. Even priests going to the colonies must have the royal permission, while the selling of indulgences in the colonies was reserved to the crown.

In the course of time the church in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies had accumulated great wealth through private bequests and public grants. Toward the close of the eighteenth century a large proportion of the property and wealth in the city of Lima was in the hands of the church, including four Dominican monasteries, three Franciscan, three Augustinian, with eleven others of various orders. Besides there were fourteen convents for nuns; five houses for pious women, in addition to hospitals and other institutions devoted to charitable or religious purposes.

The Wealth of the
Colonial Church

In Mexico Humboldt estimated that 80 per cent of the landed property was owned by the church. There were great numbers of idle priests and friars, which constituted a great drain upon the economic life of the country, while the vast amount of wealth controlled by the church was a constant handicap to the economic growth of the colonies. When the Jesuits were expelled there were in Mexico 23 Jesuit colleges, 103 missions with 122,000 neophytes, while as early as 1622 a letter to the king from the *cabildo* of Mexico stated that there were in Mexico 6,000 members of the clergy without charges. These figures simply serve to indicate the economic drain upon the country exercised by the church.

Tribunals of the Inquisition were established in Lima in 1570 and in Mexico in 1571. The Indians were never brought under its jurisdiction, and those who were its victims were largely foreign heretics and Jews, and the actual number condemned and executed in the colonies was comparatively few.

The Inquisition in the
Spanish Colonies

In the one hundred and seventy-six years during which the Inquisition was functioning in America only fifty-nine heretics were burned in Peru and forty-one in Mexico. In Peru there were

twenty-nine *autos da fé*, the first in 1581, the last in 1776. There were many, however, who suffered lesser penalties. The chief work of the Inquisition was the condemning of books. The total number of books expurgated or prohibited embraced the works of 5,420 authors, which included the names of the greatest thinkers and writers of Europe.

COLONIAL EDUCATION, SCHOLARSHIP AND LITERATURE

The work of education in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies was largely in the hands of the church and was based on dogma and discipline. It was conducted almost entirely in the interests of a small class; no such thing as popular education was thinkable. The great mass of the population received no training except such as was given in the public exercises of the church. Indians and half-breeds in some instances received rudimentary teaching at the mission schools. The Jesuits established a number of secondary schools called *colegios*, where the sons of creoles were educated. Some of the wealthier families sent their sons to Spain for their education, though the practice was far from universal. The Jesuits were also active in education in Brazil, and as early as 1554 established at São Paulo a school which developed into a famous college.

Relatively, higher education was much further advanced in the Spanish colonies than was primary or secondary education, which is likewise true of present-day conditions. Fourteen universities were founded in Latin America during the colonial period, a number being older than Harvard. The oldest American universities were that of San Marcos at Lima and one in Mexico, both established by a decree of King Charles I in 1551. These institutions played an important part in the intellectual life of the colonies. In the early eighteenth century the University of San Marcos had more than 2,000 students and 108 instructors. Instruction was offered in theology, civil and canon law, science, mathematics, and philosophy. In 1614 Fernando de Trejo í Sanabria, one of the few Creoles to become a bishop, established the University of Cordoba. He became the bishop

Primary Education

Colonial Universities

of Tucuman in 1595. He was especially zealous in the education of youth, and in 1609 he founded a school under the name "Colegio de Santa Catalina"; and four years later he promised to endow a university by a gift of \$40,000. Other colonial universities were that of San Felipe at Santiago de Chile, founded in 1738, and that at Caracas established in 1721.

The attainment of scholarship in the Spanish colonies was probably considerably beyond that of the English-speaking colonies in North America. The native languages were reduced to written forms and dictionaries and grammars were prepared. The bulk of the books published by colonial authors were written by ecclesiastics, and were of a religious nature, such as catechisms and martyrologies. The colonial period was rich in historical productions, among them being Duran's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva Espana*, and Acosta's *Natural and Civil History of the Indies*. In the realm of literature the

Colonial Scholarship and Literature

Spanish colonies made some permanent contributions, especially in the field of the heroic epic. The first and most famous of these was a long poem "La Araucana," by Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533-1594), based upon his personal experiences in Chile, and the long struggle between the Spaniard and the warlike Araucanian Indians. Though published in Spain in 1569-1572, this poem served as the model of many others of like nature. The conquests of Mexico and Peru served as themes for other long poems. In the seventeenth century a real poetical genius was produced by Mexico, in the person of Sor Juana de la Cruz, a woman whose collected writings fill three volumes. Her productions were lyrical and satirical poems and were the best of the kind produced in the colonial era.

POPULATION

At the close of the eighteenth century the population of Latin America was nearly 19,000,000. Mexico contained something near 6,000,000; New Granada, 1,500,000; Venezuela, 800,000; Chile, 800,000; La Plata, 1,000,000; Peru, perhaps 3,000,000 to 5,000,000; and Brazil perhaps 3,000,000 to 5,000,000. About half the population of La Plata were Indians.

while in Mexico there were nearly 3,000,000 Indians, 2,000,000 half-breeds, 364,742 European-born whites, and 582,000 Creoles. The four largest towns in Spanish America at the end of the eighteenth century were Mexico City, with some 137,000 people; Quito, with 70,000; Buenos Aires, with 60,000; and Lima, with 54,000.

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CHAPTER XI

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF SPANISH RULE IN AMERICA

IN this chapter it is intended to summarize the chief events in the political history of Spanish rule in America, from the period of colonization to the end of the eighteenth century. This story covers more than two hundred years, and yet it is possible to treat it in one chapter, because the Spanish governmental system, once established, remained in operation, with little change, to the end of the Spanish colonial empire. One viceroy succeeded another, with little or no interruption in the orderly affairs of government. We have already discussed the administrative system established by Spain in her colonies, and it only remains for us, in this chapter, to pass in rapid review the chief political events in the conduct of that well-organized system.

NEW SPAIN

During the colonial period, from 1535 to 1822, there were sixty-two viceroys who ruled in Mexico. Of these sixty-four chief officials a few were ecclesiastics, two held office for two terms, while only two or three were natives of Mexico. As a whole Mexico was well governed during all the three hundred years of Spain's colonial rule. Even during the period when the home government was becoming weaker and weaker the government of Mexico was becoming more firmly established. The viceroy of New Spain ruled over a vast territory, including what are now the Central American states and the territory stretching northward, including Texas, and eventually as far as Vancouver Island.

The first of the Mexican viceroys was Antonio de Mendoza, who arrived in America in the fall of 1535. He had been appointed by Charles V, and was a man of high character and

a keen sense of justice. During his administration, which lasted fifteen years, he encouraged education and the founding of schools, and as a whole the country prospered. During his administration the attempt was made to suppress the *encomienda* system, which led to considerable disturbance. Several new towns were founded and several distant tribes of Indians were pacified. In 1550 Mendoza left Mexico for a similar post in Peru, and he was succeeded by Luis de Velasco. Under this administration there was a threatened uprising to make Cortés, a son of the conqueror, king of New Spain. This insurrection, however, was soon suppressed with great severity.

Toward the close of the sixteenth century the problem of protecting the treasure fleets from the European enemies of Spain became pressing. In 1568 the English captain John Hawkins had captured San Juan de Ulloa, and four years later Drake plundered along the coast of the Mexican gulf, and in 1578 made his most famous voyage around South America and up the Pacific Coast, plundering and burning as he went.

The English, Dutch,
and French
Buccaneers

In 1586 he burned Saint Augustine, Florida. The Dutch also were active in the work of plundering. They hovered off the Gulf coast with their fleets, damaging towns and taking treasure ships. The French likewise took a hand at plundering, and it became necessary to send warships to convoy the treasure fleets of Spain. In 1655 the English captured the island of Jamaica and thereafter the danger to Spanish convoys was much increased. During all of the seventeenth century the ports of Yucatan and Central America were frequently raided. In 1683 even Vera Cruz was captured and was held for ten days. The treaty of Utrecht (1713), which gave the English the right of sending a ship of five hundred tons burden to trade with Spanish colonies, greatly facilitated smuggling.

The chief event of the eighteenth century, in the history of New Spain, was the expulsion of the Jesuits. This was accomplished by an order issued by King Charles III, expelling them from all of his dominions. The Jesuits had come to Mexico in 1572, and during the two hundred years of their

labor in America had done much to civilize the natives and educate the whites. The members of the order were arrested *en masse* on the night of June 26, 1767, their goods sequestrated, and they themselves deported to Habana, from whence they were taken to Cadiz. The work which they had carried on was in a large measure taken over by the Franciscans and Dominicans, who pushed on into upper California. They founded many towns, such as San Carlos, San Antonio, San Gabriel, in which the mission stations were made the centers of interest. The expulsion of the Jesuits was much resented by the creoles and was an added cause for their discontent.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century the minor officials, especially the *corregidores*, and the *alcaldes*, had become very corrupt, and an attempt was made to devise reforms.

In 1786, in order to bring about better government, the country was divided into intendencies, twelve in number, whose officials were made directly subject to the viceroy. Among the best of the later viceroys was Revillagigedo (1789-1794), a progressive ruler, who did much to improve the administration and increase commerce. In this administration the first census of New Spain was taken.

THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU

After the period of turbulence which marked the downfall of the last of the Pizarros in Peru, Antonio de Mendoza, who had already served a successful term as viceroy at Mexico, became viceroy at Lima. He arrived in Peru in 1551, but died the next year. Peru was filled with adventurers, and rebellion in the early years was never far away. Bernard Moses estimates that at the close of the civil wars in Peru there were 8,000 Spaniards, of whom 489 held grants of land and Indians, and about 1,000 others occupied official positions or occupied estates; but the whole Spanish population desired to live without labor

(Bernard Moses, *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, p. 134). It was with difficulty that the king of Spain succeeded

in getting anyone to accept the post of viceroy after the death of Antonio de Mendoza, but finally succeeded in inducing Hurtado de Mendoza to accept the difficult post. Hurtado ruled with an iron hand for six years. The disturbing elements in the colony were either sent out of the country or executed. He also did much toward pacifying the Indians, seeing that they had good priests appointed in their villages, and promoted the foundation of schools.

Perhaps the most conspicuous of the early viceroys of Peru was Don Francisco de Toledo, who was the fifth to hold that office, entering Peru in 1569 and ruling with success for thirteen years. He gave a minute inspection to every province within the country, after which he established the system of local government which prevailed in Peru for two hundred years. The provisions relating to local government are contained in the Libro de Tasas. According to these regulations, the territory was divided into districts called *corregimientos*, over which was placed the *corregidor*; municipal government was definitely established, fixing the duties of the several officers, and also regulating trade. The code also dealt with the Indians. It determined the amount of tribute to be paid by them, and the amount of service they were to render. In addition to the tribute, according to these regulations, the Indians were also to render personal service in the mines, manufactories, and on the farms, which was known as the *mita*. A priest was to be placed in each village, who was to teach the Indians the doctrines of Christianity and all traces of the old religion were to be destroyed. Among the noted accomplishments by this famous viceroy was the murder, entirely unprovoked, of the last of the Incas. This occurred in 1571, when the young Inca prince, Tupac Amaru, was seized and beheaded in the square at Cuzco.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the political affairs of Peru had fallen into a settled order, and viceroys followed one another without disturbance. From 1543, when the first of the Peruvian rulers took up his duties, to 1801, thirty-five viceroys ruled in Peru. During the early period

The Viceroy,
Francisco de Toledo,
1569-1581

most of the viceroys had belonged to the great houses of Spain, but following the reign of Philip II to the early years of the eighteenth century a different class was sent out. The later viceroys, especially after the Bourbon kings came to the Spanish throne, were more practical men, such as Don Manuel Amat and Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, the latter having been a successful governor-general of Chile. The average term of office for the viceroys of Peru was seven and a half years.

Until the establishment of the viceroyalties of New Granada and Buenos Aires, the jurisdiction of the Peruvian viceroy extended over all the Spanish possessions in South America. The captain-generals of Venezuela and of Chile were subject to the authority of the viceroy at Lima, but for every practical purpose these far-distant provinces were independent of his authority.

The outstanding event in Peru in the latter eighteenth century was the great Indian revolt under the leadership of Tupac Amaru, the descendant of the Inca of that name, whom Francisco de Toledo had put to death over two hundred years before in the square of the ancient Inca capital. Tupac Amaru was a well-educated Indian, and had been recognized by the Spanish authorities as the descendant of the Incas. He was cacique of a district near Cuzco, and did everything in his power to ameliorate the deplorable condition of his people.

For years he exerted himself to redress the wrongs of the Indians, talking to priests and officials in their behalf, but it was all to no avail. The evils went on, especially those practiced by the *corregidores*, the nature of which we have already described. One of the most merciless of the *corregidores* was the one at Tinta, and Tupac Amaru determined to begin his revolt by punishing this *corregidor*. This was successfully accomplished, and the *corregidor* of Tinta was arrested and executed in November, 1780. This act was the signal for the gathering of the Indians to Tupac's banner, and they arose as one man around him. Tupac then advanced toward Cuzco, where in the early part of 1781 an indecisive battle was fought.

The whole of central Peru was now in revolt, and the Spanish officials began to be greatly alarmed, and every effort was made to gather troops at Lima. The viceroy of Peru sent a military force, as did also the viceroy at Buenos Aires, for the Indians about La Paz were also in revolt. Finally, a force of fifteen thousand men, made up of Spanish regulars, mulatto troops, and Indians, was gathered at Cuzco to meet the revolt-
 ing Inca. At this juncture Tupac Amaru wrote to Areche, the official sent from Lima, proposing to arbitrate, but the answer of this official was a brutal refusal to enter into negotiations, and promising the most horrible vengeance upon the Inca. There was nothing left now for Tupac but to fight to the bitter end. In March the Inca took up his position near the village of Checacape, where a battle was fought which proved disastrous to the Inca's forces. Tupac Amaru fled with his family, hoping to rally his army. He was betrayed, however, by one of his officers and delivered into the hands of the Spaniards, who took him to Cuzco to await his awful fate. The Spanish general hung sixty-seven Indians at Tinta, stuck their heads on poles, and placed them beside the roadway as a warning to the revolting Indians.

The Spanish officials now proceeded to carry out the cruel sentence upon the Inca and his family. On May 15, 1781, the sentence was published. The Inca was to have his tongue cut out; then was to be torn to pieces by horses attached to his limbs and driven in different directions; then his body was to be burned, and his head and limbs stuck upon poles, to be set up in different towns which had been loyal to his cause. This
 horrible sentence was literally carried out on May 18, while the family of the Inca was compelled to witness the terrible scene. This event, however, did not stop the revolt, for fighting continued for many months under the command of Diego Tupac Amaru, the Inca's cousin. The town of Sorata was besieged by the Indians, and finally taken by an ingenious plan of the Indian commander, who turned the waters of a mountain stream against the earthworks protecting the town. The inhabitants

The Overthrow and
 Capture of Tupac
 Amaru

The Execution of
 Tupac Amaru

of Sorata were massacred, the clergy alone being allowed to escape. La Paz was besieged for one hundred and nine days by 40,000 Indians, but was finally relieved by General Flores, with troops from Buenos Aires, only to be besieged again from August to October. Diego Tupac Amaru finally, on promise of pardon by the Spanish officials, disbanded his forces and returned to his home. But no sooner was this done than the perfidious officials broke their promises, and Diego and all his relatives were put to death, and an effort was made to exterminate every vestige of the Inca lineage. Altogether this revolt cost the lives of eighty thousand victims.

But the revolt and the death of the Inca was not in vain. The viceroy of Peru was called upon for a report as to the causes of the revolt, and he replied by laying the blame upon the misery caused by the *mita*, and the exactions of the priests, and proposed certain remedies. There followed now a series of excellent viceroys, who exerted all their influence and power toward relieving the situation. Under the viceroyalty of Don Theodoro de Croix (1784-1790) the office of *corregidor* was abolished, and Peru was divided into seven large provinces called *intendencias*, over each of which was placed an intend-

Reforms in the
Government of Peru

ent, directly subject to the viceroy. The *intendencias* were in turn divided into *partidas*, each of which was under a subdelegate,

subject to the intendent. Following De Croix came Admiral de Taboada, who has been called the best and most enlightened of the viceroys. He was a lover of letters and a promoter of enlightened thought. Under his patronage letters and learning flourished at Lima. Taboada was followed by a very remarkable man, Ambrose O'Higgins. He was an Irishman, who as a boy had come out to Peru, and through sheer talent and tact succeeded in becoming captain-general of Chile (1788-1796) and later viceroy of Peru (1796-1800). The next viceroy, Aviles (1800-1806), was a man of very different character, who promoted no useful measure, while under his successor, Fernando Abascal, the revolutionary movement began which was finally to overthrow the colonial power of Spain.

CHILE

From the beginning Chile was largely independent of Peru, though it remained to the end of the colonial period nominally a part of the viceroyalty. Because of the peculiar problems presented by the invincible Araucanians, and the difficulties of administering the government from Lima, the *audiencia* of Chile was set up at Concepción in 1567, and to still further strengthen the government there was appointed, in 1568, a governor who was to act as president of the *audiencia*, civil governor, and military commander. Again in 1575 the government was reorganized by a special commissioner sent from Spain, the *audiencia* suspended and a new governor appointed. In 1609 the *audiencia* was re-established with its seat at Santiago. At this time two thousand soldiers were maintained in Chile to protect the Spanish settlements, and \$292,279 was appropriated annually from the treasury of Peru for their support.

In the eighteenth century the governor of Chile took on increased importance, from the custom of appointing him, at the close of his term of office, to a more important post, often to that of the viceroy of Peru. From 1745 to 1808 there were sixteen governors who held office in Chile, the most distinguished being Ambrosio O'Higgins, a native of Ireland, born in 1720. Because of the wisdom and energy displayed he has been called the "great captain-general." Although he took office at the advanced age of sixty-eight he immediately outlined a program of reform which included improvement of agricultural conditions and his attempt to correct the abuses of the *encomiendas*. He also conducted a more widely extended inspection of his captaincy-general than had any previous governor, and encouraged road building and commerce. At the age of seventy-six (1796) he was appointed viceroy of Peru.

NEW GRANADA

Until 1716 the territory included in the present states of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador was subject to the viceroy at Peru, but in that year the viceroyalty of New Granada was



created, with the capital at Bogotá. Previous to this the territory, now included in the present Republic of Colombia, was ruled by a long series of governors, who came and went without producing any change in the government. The first viceroy of New Granada was Don Sebastian de Eslaba, and his administration is marked by the repelling of an attack of the English upon Porto Bello. Besides this notable achievement the rule of Eslaba is also noted for the advancement made in internal

The Viceroyalty of
New Granada

improvements of the country, such as the construction of roads, building of bridges, and development of manufacturing. During the

closing years of the eighteenth century there was much internal disturbance, due to certain financial reforms instituted by the government, and there were even threats to throw off allegiance to the king of Spain. This danger, however, was allayed through the intervention of Archbishop Gorgora, who in recognition of this service was appointed viceroy. His administration, noted for his encouragement of science, and other wise measures, left the country in a condition of peace and prosperity.

VENEZUELA

In the interests of better administration Venezuela was set apart under a captain-general in 1777. For every practical purpose the governor-general was independent of the viceroy at Bogotá. He was the head of the military, president of the *audiencia*, as well as the chief executive officer. He received a salary of \$9,000 a year, besides the fees which came to him as judge. At the head of the financial administration of the captaincy-general was the intendent, who was given a large measure of independence in the conduct of his important office.

RIO DE LA PLATA

From the foundation of Spanish colonies upon the Rio de la Plata until 1776 the whole region was included in the viceroyalty of Peru. In 1614 the territory had been divided into two provinces, with Buenos Aires the capital of one, and Asunción the capital of the other. There were no mines and

no direct trade with Spain in Rio de la Plata, so there were few attractions, and population increased but slowly. Before the separation of the territory into two provinces Buenos Aires had outgrown Asunción, and if there had been no restrictions upon direct trade with Spain the city at the mouth of the great river would have grown much more rapidly; but as it was, Buenos Aires had to look to Lima for her wares. The expense of transporting goods across the continent stimulated the Portuguese to carry on contraband trade, for, bringing their goods directly from Europe, they could smuggle them across the river into the Spanish colonies at a small part of the price necessary if the goods were brought by way of Lima. So successful was this trade that even Lima merchants began the practice of coming to Buenos Aires to make their purchases, rather than go to the Fair at Porto Bello. To further this trade the Portuguese began to push southward, along the Brazilian coast, and established a fort, Colonia, across the Rio de la Plata from Buenos Aires. The founding of this post was resented by the population of the Spanish province, and an expedition was made against it which succeeded in capturing the place. This, however, did not settle the matter, and for many years it was the cause of dispute between not only the Spanish and Portuguese in America but also between the home governments.

The immense distance from Lima and the increasing importance of Buenos Aires led the Spanish colonial authorities to raise the latter city to the dignity of a viceroyalty (1776).

The territory of the new viceroyalty included, besides the old provinces of Buenos Aires and Paraguay, the presidency of Charcas (modern Bolivia), and the province of Cuyo, which had formerly been a part of Chile. From 1776 to 1810 eleven viceroys ruled at Buenos Aires, the first one being Antonio de Ceballos and the last Hidalgo de Cisneros.

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CHAPTER XII

THE CAUSES OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN WARS FOR INDEPENDENCE

THE causes of the South American wars for independence were far different from those which resulted in the rebellion of England's thirteen American colonies. As we survey the government of colonial Latin America in the light of twentieth-century democracy, we wonder why the Spanish colonists, badly governed and heavily taxed for the benefit of the mother country as they were, and in every way exploited, did not rebel long before they did. Yet still more strange to the North American is the fact that the immediate causes of the revolutions in South America did not grow out of the evil and despotic government which was imposed upon them. Mr. Bryce says it was Napoleon who brought about South American independence. The general causes of disaffection, however, did grow out of conditions which had long existed, and with which we are already familiar.

GENERAL CAUSES OF DISAFFECTION

The Spanish colonist was supposed to enjoy the same constitutional rights as a citizen of Spain, but in many instances this was far from the fact. The government, at best, was extremely despotic, but when a despotic government is carried on by inefficient officials the despotism becomes unbearable, and this was the case in the Spanish colonies. The Inquisition which was established in the colonies was an institution hated by everyone. Its income depended upon the number of confiscations made, and very naturally, under these conditions, grave injustices were often perpetrated. So grave was the condition of things in 1780, due to general bad government, that serious revolts were threatened. We have already noticed

The Nature of
Spanish Colonial
Government a Cause
of Disaffection

the famous revolt of Tupac Amaru, which we remember grew out of the corrupt government, especially of the *corregidores*. In the next year, 1781, serious trouble also threatened in New Granada. Here the revolutionists soon had more than fifteen thousand men under arms and marched against Bogota, crying, "Long live the king, but death to bad governors." Three years later two agents of these revolutionists visited England in the hope of getting arms and other support.

These revolts, coming at the same time as the successful uprising of the English colonies in North America, made the Spanish government very apprehensive, and an attempt was made at governmental reform, though what was done in this direction proved ineffectual. Spain delayed giving help to the revolting English colonies, although urged to do so by her ally France, because she feared the effect upon her own colonies. When she did give aid to the American colonies, in 1779, she was at the same time trying to keep out liberal ideas from her own colonies by instituting a crusade against suspected books, more rigidly restricting education, and by greatly increasing political imprisonments.

Added to the bad government of the Spanish colonies were her exasperating economic policies. It is true that after 1778 a more liberal policy was instituted, but even after this attempted economic reform a large proportion of the commercial transactions of the colonies were still illegal. We have already given an account of the way Spain exploited her colonies, through taxation of all kinds, through the granting of monopolies, the selling of offices, and through the exactions of a corrupt clergy. All these causes contributed to the general disaffection. There was also a growing jealousy, already of long standing, between the Spaniards of European birth and

Spain's Bad Economic
Policies, Another
General Cause of
Disaffection

Jealousy Between
European-Born
Spaniards and Creoles

the creoles. Practically all the officers appointed by the king were Spaniards, while the creoles had little part in directing the affairs of either church or state. Down to the year 1810 there were 160 viceroys, and 588 captain-generals, governors, and presidents of *audiencias*, and out of this large number of officials

only eighteen had been natives of the colonies. This becomes very significant when we come to study the revolutions themselves, for every great outstanding revolutionary leader was a creole.

IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONS

Among the immediate causes of the Latin-American wars for independence may be given the successful Revolution of England's colonies in America. The chief connecting link between the two revolutions was Francisco de Miranda. Miranda was a native of Caracas, born in 1756. He came to the West

The American Revolution and Francisco de Miranda

Indies as an officer in a Spanish expedition, in 1781, took part in a campaign against Pensacola, Florida, and in 1783 visited a number of

American cities. His experience in North America led him to the belief that Spanish America could achieve a like independence, and henceforth he devoted his life to the carrying out of this thought. In spite of all precautions which the Spanish government took to keep out liberal ideas, during and following the American Revolution, nevertheless doctrines of freedom began to find their way into the very center of Spanish power in America. Among those who were preaching

Liberal Ideas Find Their Way into Spanish America

these new doctrines were the Bishop of Arequipa and the rector of the College of San Carlos. Many of the clergy likewise

joined in this movement and secret societies and clubs were formed where liberal ideas were discussed and plans laid to convert others to their cause. As a whole, however, the Spanish colonies were loyal to the Spanish crown up to the very close of the eighteenth century.

A more important cause of the decline of Spanish power in America was the long commercial struggle between England and Spain which culminated in the early years of the nineteenth century. The struggle began in the latter quarter of

The English Commercial Interests in South America

the sixteenth century when Hawkins and Drake led a long line of buccaneers to prey upon the Spanish treasure fleets. In the

middle of the seventeenth century the English captured Jamaica, after which they proceeded to take over a number of

the smaller West Indies. Spain had been little interested in the small islands and they were left unoccupied and unclaimed until the Dutch, English, and French took them over. With these islands as a center, English activities off the coasts of Spanish America greatly increased, and all during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they became a greater and greater menace to the Spanish dominions.

At the close of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713) England gained the contract to supply the Spanish Indies with slaves and also a limited right to trade with the Spanish colonies. This was the first lawful breach in the Spanish trade monopoly, and with this as an entering wedge the Eng-

England and Spain in
the Seventeenth and
Eighteenth Centuries

lish greatly increased their activities. In 1739 England and Spain were again at war and the English attempted to conquer the island

of Cuba. Again in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) Spain and England renewed the struggle and the British occupied Habana and Manila, while English merchants were busy supplying the Spanish colonists with duty-free merchandise. In 1779 Spain joined her ally France with the American colonies of England against her old enemy, and this time Spain regained Florida, which England had taken from her in 1763. Again during the Napoleon wars England and Spain once more stood face to face as enemies. Again England proceeded to attack Spain's possessions and to confiscate and capture Spanish ships.

As a part of England's campaign against France there was dispatched in the spring of 1806 an expedition of sixteen hundred men against Buenos Aires, for Spain had made an alliance with Napoleon in 1795. The commander of this expedition had the year previous taken Cape Colony, in South Africa, from the Dutch. The English landed without opposition and marched toward Buenos Aires, the Spanish viceroy fleeing to Cordoba. On taking the city the English commander declared

The English Capture
Buenos Aires, 1806

himself governor. For years the English had been desirous of gaining a foothold in South America, and this seemed the opportunity

they had long hoped for. At first the people of Buenos Aires acquiesced in the British occupation, and Beresford, the

English commander, exacted from all the officials, without difficulty, an oath of allegiance to the British crown. Within a few weeks, however, the English were overpowered by the townspeople of Buenos Aires, aided by a force which had been organized by a French naval officer, Liniers, in the employ of the Spanish at Montevideo. There was some hard fighting in the streets of Buenos Aires, but the English were compelled to surrender, and Liniers, now a popular idol, was appointed viceroy. This victory, which the people of Buenos Aires had achieved without help from Spain, greatly aroused their national and race pride.

A few months after these occurrences another and more formidable British expedition, consisting of four thousand men under General Whitelocke, made an attack upon the La Plata. The English landed this time in Uruguay, and took Montevideo by assault. With Montevideo as a base, the English now made an attack upon Buenos Aires. The Argentines met the English outside the city, but after some severe fighting they were compelled to retire, the English following them into the

The Second English
Attack Upon Buenos
Aires, 1807

town. This proved foolish tactics on the part of the English, for as they marched through the narrow streets of the Spanish town the natives rained down upon them from the housetops stones and bullets, so that by the time they reached the main square their forces were greatly demoralized. Here the British were met by the Argentines, drawn up behind breastworks. For two days the fighting raged, but finally the British were compelled to ask for terms. Again the people of Argentina had defended themselves successfully. They had little dreamed of such military prowess, and now that it was revealed beyond any doubt, their local pride was greatly stimulated. The people of Buenos Aires, while not desiring to be ruled by the English, were willing to trade with them, and English commercial interests in the La Plata were greatly stimulated.

Previous to the events just described the English had captured the island of Trinidad, which gave English commercial interests a base at the mouth of the great river Orinoco. This also brought Englishmen and English interests very near the

north coast of South America. This close proximity of the English to the Spanish colonies could not fail to greatly influence the creole element. When the wars for independence began, the revolutionists found these Englishmen ready with their help and encouragement.

**The English Capture
of Trinidad, 1797**

Of the immediate causes of the South American wars for independence perhaps none are so important as the influence of the Napoleon wars. After conquering Prussia in 1806 and making peace with Russia in 1807, Napoleon turned his attention to Portugal and Spain. At this time the king of Spain

**Napoleon Seizes the
Crown of Spain**

was Charles IV, a weak and corrupt monarch who had in 1795 signed a peace with Napoleon and a little later became the active ally of the French. Napoleon by 1807 had become anxious to add Spain to his empire and began to lay plans to accomplish that end. Charles IV and his son, Ferdinand, the heir to the throne, had quarrelled, and Napoleon was called in to settle their differences. Calling these two "royal clowns" to Bayonne, just across the border, Napoleon proceeded to compel them to abdicate their throne, and their royal rights were then assumed by the wily arbiter (May, 1808). Spain was thereupon given to the brother of Bonaparte, Joseph, who at once surrendered his kingdom of Naples to become the successor of the Bourbons upon the throne of Spain.

When Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed king in the Latin-American capitals the colonists refused to recognize the usurper, and everywhere the news was received with cries of "Viva Fernando Septimo." One of the first acts of Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain was to confirm all the governors and other royal officials in the colonies. This at once cast suspicion upon

**The Colonies Refuse
to Recognize Joseph
Bonaparte as King**

these officials, as being agents of the usurping king. An illustration of the feeling of the populace at this time is afforded by occurrences at Caracas. Here a British frigate arrived announcing an Anglo-Spanish alliance against Napoleon, just after a French vessel arrived with the news of the accession of Joseph Bonaparte to the Spanish throne. The people received the English-

men with enthusiasm, while the Spanish governor officially received the French officials. What occurred in Caracas took place in practically all Latin-American capitals. The people were everywhere opposed to French control in Spain, and were everywhere suspicious of their own local colonial officials, and a condition of uncertainty was thus produced throughout the entire Spanish colonial empire.

The next scene in this drama, which naturally followed upon the situation already described, was the overthrow of the colonial officials and the setting up of independent governments. Thus in August, 1809, the citizens of Quito organized a sovereign junta, deposed the governor, and assumed the authority of the government. Similar things had already

Organization of Juntas
in Spain and the
Colonies in Opposition
to Joseph Bonaparte

occurred in Spain, for juntas had been constituted at various centers, such as Seville and Asturias, and a national resistance had been organized against the French. These colonial juntas did not claim independence of Spain, nor did the central junta in Spain intend the destruction of the Spanish monarchy, but these governments both in the colonies and in Spain professed loyalty to Ferdinand VII, the deposed monarch, and professed to be upholding his royal authority. Thus between April and July, 1810, "all over South America the principal municipalities . . . formed juntas to preserve the authority of Ferdinand." The chief juntas thus formed were at Bogota, Cartagena, Caracas, Santiago de Chile, and Buenos Aires.

This was the situation out of which came Latin-American independence. These juntas, at first upholding the authority of the deposed king, proclaimed that they were fighting for his restoration. Thus through several years this strange condition prevailed, while in the meantime the people of Latin America were getting their first taste of self-government. But "the theory of allegiance to a dethroned and captive king, although sincerely held by the great majority, could not long survive," and in the end, through a perfectly natural evolution, the royal authority decreased. Gradually real revolutionary governments everywhere came into existence with the avowed intention of achieving independence of Spanish authority.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE WARS FOR INDEPENDENCE

THE NORTHERN MOVEMENT

To Venezuela belongs the honor of starting the series of revolts which culminated in freeing the colonies of Central and South America from the Spanish yoke. Venezuela was an agricultural colony, and was therefore one of the most neglected of the Spanish possessions. The Spanish officials were few, and the number of Spanish residents was likewise small. Venezuela was also much exposed to the influence

of both England and the United States through trade with Jamaica, Trinidad, and Santo Domingo, once the chief colony of Spain, "but now emerging from French rule into a stormy independence." In 1797 a conspiracy had been organized at La Guaira, a Venezuelan port, but it obtained little support and had been quickly overcome. The one man chiefly responsible for Venezuela's early revolt was Francisco de Miranda, of whose early career we have already spoken. After the close of the American Revolution he began at once to lay plans for the independence of his own country. Those early plans, however, came to naught.

From the States he went to England, and there submitted his plans to the younger Pitt, who at once promised him support in case of war. From England he now went to France, where the great Revolution was under way, and when the revolutionary army was organized he became an officer. Be-

**Miranda Seeks Help
from England and
the United States**

coming involved in the party struggles, he fell under suspicion, was thrown into prison, and only escaped through the death of Robespierre. Again he turned to England and America for aid. He received encouragement at the time from Rufus King, the American minister to England, and from Pitt. In 1805 he

sailed for the United States, where Jefferson received him, and during a stay of fourteen days at the capital dined twice with the President. Miranda's hopes of obtaining the help of the United States were blasted, however, when he was finally informed that the Washington government would not officially aid him.

Immediately on receiving this message Miranda began preparations for an expedition against Caracas. Two vessels were fitted out in New York and a number of Americans enlisted. In January the expedition sailed, going first to Santo

The Expedition of
1806

Domingo, and from there to Venezuela.

Aided by Sir Thomas Cochran, an English admiral, and two Americans, an attempt was

made on Puerto Cabello, but two of the vessels were taken, a number of the Americans were captured and later executed by the Spanish authorities, while Miranda was forced to flee to Jamaica. A month later another attempt was made to land a force at Coro, but after a successful landing they were again forced to withdraw. The population had expressed little interest in these endeavors, for the time was not yet ripe for a successful revolution.

The influence which finally led the creoles of Venezuela to seek independence was the arrival of the French commissioners announcing the ascension of Joseph Bonaparte to the throne of Spain. Throughout all of 1809 agitation was carried on by a group in Caracas advocating separation, and they even sent to England seeking help for their cause. Finally, on April 19, 1810, an independent junta was formed at Caracas, "to pre-

The Independent
Junta of Caracas,
April 19, 1810

serve the rights of Ferdinand VII," and the Spanish officials were compelled to resign.

Some of the provinces, however, refused to submit to this self-constituted government, the provinces of Coro and Maracaibo especially. Outside of these royalist provinces, however, the Junta was every where recognized, and in April, 1811, the Cabildos of the various towns were requested to elect members to a Congress. On July 5 this Congress assembled, and a Declaration of Independence was adopted, declaring the seven eastern provinces free and independent

states. Miranda, who had returned from Europe, was given the military command of the new republic. Several royalist revolts occurred, one at Caracas, headed by the clergy, and another at Valencia, both of which Miranda successfully put down. The most serious menace came from the royalist province of Coro, whence a force under Monteverde an able Spanish commander, was advancing upon Caracas.

In the midst of this impending danger to the new republic a terrible earthquake destroyed Caracas and killed over twenty thousand people in the revolting provinces, while twelve thousand persons lost their lives in the capital alone. The clergy immediately took advantage of this disaster and began to preach divine judgment to the terrified people, with the result

The Great Earthquake
of 1812 and the
Surrender of Caracas.
Death of Miranda,
1816

that thousands deserted the patriot cause and went over to the royalists. Monteverde, the royalist commander, met little opposition as he advanced upon Caracas, and in July, 1812,

Miranda signed a capitulation, securing free departure for the patriot leaders. Bolívar, a prominent leader of the creole party in charge of the fortress of Puerto Cabello, abandoned his command, and proceeded to Caracas, where he and several other officers threw Miranda into prison. Here Miranda was found by the Spanish commander when he took the city. Bolívar and the other officers were permitted to return to their estates, but Miranda was kept in prison, finally being removed to Spain, where he was taken from prison to prison until his death in 1816.

Simon Bolívar, who had been associated with Miranda, was a creole, born at Caracas in 1783, and at an early age fell heir to large estates in Venezuela. He received his education in Europe, spending much time at Madrid, and traveling in Europe. He found himself in Paris during the closing scenes of the Revolution, and there imbibed some of the revolutionary doctrines. He had returned to Venezuela in

Simon Bolívar

1809, "a childless widower of twenty-nine,"

and at once threw in his lot with the Revolutionary party, then just beginning operations. On returning to South America from Europe he had spent some time in the United States,

where he had observed for the first time the successful workings of free institutions. After the fall of the first Venezuelan republic Bolívar retired to his estates, but not for long. He had determined to devote his life and fortune to the winning of Venezuelan independence, and from that time he became the "chief inspiration of the movement and ultimately the liberator of five extensive republics." He was not a leader to inspire confidence by his personal appearance, for he had a small and puny body, and was of unattractive face and figure. He was also vain and immoral, two typical creole traits.

After the overthrow of the first Venezuelan republic in 1812, Bolívar went to Cartagena, where he offered his sword to the Junta of that city, for New Granada had declared also for complete independence. Given a small force, he began operations on the Magdalena River, which he conducted with both skill and success. He now succeeded in raising a considerable force of New Granadians, and, marching eastward, proceeded to crush the royalist forces in Venezuela. Within fifty days he had cleared the two western provinces, and within thirteen

The Second Republic
of Venezuela, and the
Campaign of 1814

months after Miranda's surrender he re-entered Caracas at the head of his victorious forces. A second Venezuelan republic came into existence, with Bolívar at its head, with the title of "Liberator." Meanwhile new forces were collecting, which were soon to crush this second republic. Boves, a Spanish sergeant, dismissed from the Spanish army for misconduct, had gone among the warlike Indians of the plains and had succeeded in organizing in the name of the king a force of four thousand Indian horsemen, and was making his way toward the capital. In June, 1814, Bolívar met these forces, and at La Puerta suffered a disastrous defeat. Killing his prisoners, Bolívar deserted Caracas and fled with a band of revolutionists. Crossing the mountains, he once more offered his services to New Granada.

Bolívar came to New Granada at an opportune moment, for after five years of stormy independence the country was reduced to a state of civil war, due to the rivalries and jealousies of the various Juntas. Both Bogotá and Cartagena had set up

governments independent of the Congress, and Bolívar proceeded to reduce these independent centers. Meanwhile a new and able commander, Morillo, with a force of ten thousand troops, was sent over from Spain by Ferdinand, now restored to his throne. To this large force New Granada fell an easy prey, and once more Bolívar was forced to flee. New Granada was reduced to obedience, and one hundred and twenty-five persons were executed as traitors. The revolution appeared to be crushed, with the leaders either dead or in exile. Not only in the north was the revolution seemingly ended, but likewise everywhere else throughout Spanish America except in Argentina. The only patriot forces in either New Granada or Venezuela were a few guerilla bands, and a body of horse that had been gathered by Páez, an illiterate peasant, operating along the Orinoco.

It was with this force of Páez that Bolívar next appeared. He had succeeded in organizing a small fleet in Haiti, largely manned by British sailors, and when he appeared on the Orinoco he was at once recognized as leader. By the early part of the year 1818 he had gained control of the whole course of the river, having captured Angostura in July, 1817, and the fortress of San Fernando in February, 1818. In the meantime the

Campaign of 1817-
1818 Along the
Orinoco

Spanish commander Morillo had returned from New Granada to Venezuela, and when Bolívar made an attempt to capture Caracas he was again badly defeated, and was left in desperate straits. At this juncture Bolívar contracted for a contingent of Irish and British troops, just released from the wars of Europe, and by the end of the year 1818 some six thousand had arrived. Against these soldiers no troops of South America could successfully stand.

Of these six thousand British subjects "five sixths of them perished in the war, some in sanguinary fights, some under stress of labor as prisoners in the torrid climate of Panama, but most by famine, pestilence, and hardships such as they had never known in European warfare: they joined an army of almost naked men, destitute of baggage, commissariat, surgeons, and ambulance,

The British Forces

fighting in a tropical country of indescribable difficulty, where capture meant probable death, and victory was followed by a general slaughter of prisoners; where the path of war led across plains which turned from desert to swamp with the change of season, through a labyrinth of deep rivers infested by crocodiles and mosquitos, and over a vast mass of frozen mountains." South American independence owes much to the help rendered by British subjects.

Bolívar now conceived the daring idea of uniting his forces with those of New Granada. He accordingly started westward along the Orinoco. His plans were to cross the Andes, over the difficult Paya Pass, and surprise the Spanish army encamped in the valley. This was a very hazardous undertaking, for the road over the mountains in many places was but a track, and during their march the rain fell in torrents. Reach-

The Campaign of
1819. The Battle of
Boyaca

ing the highest regions, the cold was so severe that all the horses perished, as well as a large number of his men. The expedition, how-

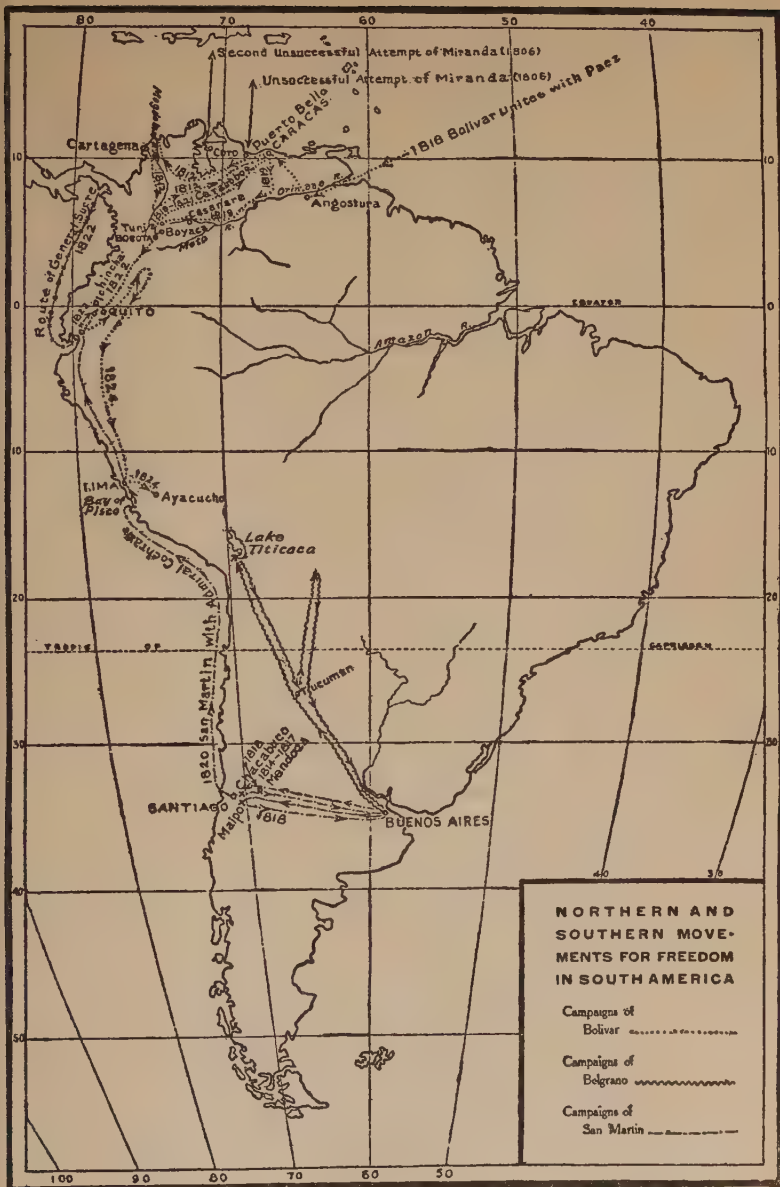
ever, was successful in completely surprising the Spaniards, who, not knowing the size of Bolívar's army, hesitated to attack him. This delay gave the patriots the needed opportunity to rest and procure horses. Finally, on August 7, 1819, one of the most important battles in the wars for independence was fought at Boyaca. The patriots were completely victorious, and Bolívar entered Bogotá. Returning after this victory to Venezuela, Bolívar ordered Venezuela and New Granada united into a single republic, to be called the republic of Colombia, over which he assumed authority. At the same time he removed the capital from Angostura, on the Orinoco, to Cucuta, a town situated on the border between the two former republics.

After Boyaca, Morillo and Bolívar signed a six-months' truce, and the next year a new Spanish commander, General De Torre, came out, succeeding Morillo. As soon as the truce

Campaign of 1821.
Battle of Carabobo,
June, 1821

was ended Bolívar assumed the offensive and sought battle with the Spaniards, now drawn up in the plain of Carabobo at the foot of

the mountain passes to the west of Valencia. Bolívar had nine thousand troops, among them being a British legion of more



than a thousand. De Torre, the Spanish commander, had divided his army, thus placing himself at a disadvantage. For the patriots, the British bore the brunt of the fighting, the turning point in the battle being a stirring bayonet charge by the British, which turned a desperate situation into a complete victory. The Spanish army fled to Puerto Cabello, while Bolívar advanced unopposed into Caracas, where a second time he was proclaimed the liberator and saviour of his country. With this campaign the war in Venezuela and New Granada was won and independence achieved.

On August 30, 1821, a constitution for the new Republic of Colombia was adopted by a convention meeting at Cucuta,

The Constitution of
1821

Bolívar was made president, although the duties of that office were assumed by the vice-president, while Bolívar continued in command of the army. Bolívar now left for Ecuador and Peru to continue the fight for the liberation of the whole continent. Meanwhile the patriot army in Venezuela succeeded in driving the Spaniards from Puerto Cabello, and the whole country was freed of Spanish forces.

While Bolívar was leading the forces of Venezuela and New Granada to victory and independence, similar movements were under way in what are now Ecuador and Bolivia. In the early part of the year 1809 the creoles of Quito determined to overthrow the Spanish officials and set up an independent junta. There were only a few Spanish troops in Quito and the movement was successfully carried out on August 9. The Spanish

The Revolution in
Ecuador

officials, however, succeeded in gathering an army of Indians, easily defeated the revolutionists, and the president of Quito was restored to power. Again, in 1810, the creoles made an attempt to capture the barracks at Quito, but were driven off, and many of them killed. Later Castilla, the president, resigned, to be succeeded by a new junta, and the war continued. Royalists and revolutionists each raised levies among the Indians, and as the armies became better organized, the war became more cruel and bloody. Finally, in 1812, the Spaniards gained the upper hand, and their army, under the able command of

General Montes, took Quito, and he ruled as president for nine years. All revolutionary movements in Ecuador were practically at an end until Bolívar appeared with aid from the newly organized republic of Colombia. In the fall of 1821 General Sucre arrived by sea at Guayaquil with seventeen hundred veter-

**The Battle of
Pichincha, May 24,
1822**

ans from New Granada, while Bolívar was advancing from Bogotá southward. Later

Sucre received twelve hundred re-enforce-

ments from San Martín, proceeded toward Quito, and took up his position on the slopes of the volcano, Pichincha, overlooking the city. Here was fought the decisive battle in Ecuador's fight for independence on the morning of May 24, 1822. The forces of Sucre were completely victorious. The royalist army was practically annihilated and surrendered the following day.

The independence of Ecuador had been won by outside forces, for the army of Sucre was composed of Colombians and Argentines. After the victory at Pichincha the Assembly at Quito accepted incorporation into the Republic of Colombia, now a vast confederation.

While the revolutionary movement was under way in all the other South American capitals, Peru alone remained quiet. Lima was the very center of the Spanish power in America, and although revolutionary ideas had early found entrance into creole society of the capital, yet the energy and activity displayed by Abascal, the viceroy, made an open revolt seem

impossible. In 1814 there was an Indian

rising in the region of Cuzco, led by an

Indian cacique, but although it was aided by

**Peru During the
Early Years of the
Revolution, 1809-1820**

the people of La Paz, the revolt was not formidable and was soon put down after a horrible massacre near Lake Titicaca. Peru and Ecuador were the centers from which the Spanish authorities sent out their expeditions to quell the revolts in other parts of the continent, and by 1816 the revolution everywhere seemed to be at an end. It was not until the northern movement, led by Bolívar and his able lieutenant Sucre, and the southern movement, led by San Martín, had won independence for all the other districts that Peruvian independence was attained. Peru was the last stronghold of Spanish power in South America.

Before we can recount the complete story of Peru's independence we must turn to the southern revolutionary movement. This began in Buenos Aires, swept across the continent, liberated Chile, and then swung northward to join forces with Bolívar.

THE SOUTHERN MOVEMENT

Buenos Aires was more democratic and had less of the aristocratic element than any of the other large cities in South America. The city had grown very rapidly and had attracted the most adventurous and enterprising people. There was also present an especial hatred of the Spaniard, due to Spain's repressive policy in regard to trade. Argentina had also, as we have already noticed, succeeded in repelling the British in 1806 and again in 1807, and this achievement had created a national consciousness not elsewhere found in South America.

Beginnings of the
Revolution in
Argentina

When the news of Joseph Bonaparte's usurpation of the Spanish throne reached Buenos Aires it was received with indignation. Liniers, the viceroy, appointed after the expulsion of the English in 1807, was favored by the creoles, and on the attempt of the royalist governor of Montevideo to displace him he was reinstated by creole troops. The central junta of Spain now sent over Admiral Cisneros as viceroy, who found on his arrival the government in the hands of a small group of men who were working for independence. The feeling between the Creole party and the Spaniards grew more intense, and finally, on May 22, 1810, a committee of the Creole party waited upon the viceroy and demanded his resignation. The militia was entirely in the hands of the creoles, and he was therefore powerless to resist. On May 25, now celebrated as Argentina's independence day, a great armed assembly met in the plaza and a junta was named from among the creole leaders.

Like the other early revolutionary movements, the Argentines did not intend their act in organizing their junta as a separation from Spain, but professed to be acting in the name and for the interest of Ferdinand VII. The attempt, however,

to unite the whole viceroyalty under the junta failed. Paraguay was approached on the matter of union, but they had organized their own government and declined to unite, while at the same time a reactionary movement was under way at Cordoba. Montevideo was still held by the viceroy, but he was overcome in 1814. The patriots of Argentina also desired to unite Bolivia with Argentina, but the influential creole leaders of that district objected, and when in 1811-1812 an Argentine army invaded Bolivia they were defeated on the shores of Lake Titicaca by the royalist forces sent out by the viceroy of Peru. The victorious Spanish forces in turn invaded Argentina, pursuing the fleeing patriots. They were now defeated by General

The Government of
the Junta

Battle of Tucuman,
1812

Belgrano with a patriot army at Tucuman in the fall of 1812. This may be counted one of the decisive battles in the South American wars for independence, for it saved Buenos Aires from capture, and probably the South American wars from extinction. Again the Argentines attempted invasion of Bolivia in 1813, and again were defeated and driven out. In October of the same year the army of Belgrano was practically destroyed at Vilcapujio. It was at this juncture that a new leader appeared in Argentina in the person of San Martin.

José de San Martin, the son of a Spanish official, was born in a little town on the Uruguay in 1778. He was sent to Spain, where he received a military education, and was engaged with the Spanish army in many campaigns between 1793 and 1811, attaining the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Hearing of the wars for independence in Argentina, San Martin decided to return to his native land and landed at Buenos Aires in March, 1812. At first he was given command of some regiments in Buenos

José de San Martin

Aires, which he at once set about drilling, and soon made of them the finest body of troops in South America. After the defeat of Belgrano, San Martin succeeded him as the head of the Argentine army, and at once began to put into operation a comprehensive plan which included not only the independence of Argentina but also the freeing of the whole continent. He saw the futility

of attempting to strike at the Spanish power by way of the mountains in Upper Peru, and began to elaborate a plan to invade Peru by way of Chile. To carry out this scheme he gave up the command of the army of Argentina, and in September, 1814, asked for the governorship of the province of Cuyo, at the eastern end of the Uspallata pass over the Andes.

A revolutionary movement had begun in Chile, as in other centers in South America, when the news of the deposition of Ferdinand reached them. Everywhere sentiment was against the French, and leading creoles proposed the establishment of an independent junta. Feeling rapidly became more intense when in May, 1810, the captain-general ordered the arrest of the leading creoles. This action roused such a storm of protest that the captain-general resigned and placed the government in the hands of a wealthy nobleman. The agitation, however, continued, and in September, 1810, a junta was organized, which assumed the government. In 1811 a Congress

**Early Revolutionary
Movement in Chile**

was elected, but soon after it was called together the several members from the southern province withdrew, and proceeded to organize a separate government at Concepción under the leadership of Rosas. The Santiago faction was led by Carrera, a young creole of great ambition, who succeeded in gaining some small advantages over the Spanish. His conduct of the government was, however, of the worst sort, and factions soon arose against him. In 1813 the Spanish authorities in Peru sent down a force to subdue the Chilean revolt, and because Carrera was unable to meet this Spanish army he was forced to withdraw, and was succeeded by Bernardo O'Higgins, the natural son of the former viceroy, who had thrown in his lot with the revolutionists. O'Higgins, however, was unable to gain any permanent successes against the Spanish forces, and in 1814 the royalists regained complete control of Chile. From 1814 to 1817 all traces of the revolution were crushed, and O'Higgins fled across the Andes to Mendoza, where he joined San Martin in organizing an army which was to shatter forever the rule of the Spaniards on the Pacific.

For two years San Martin, aided by the Chilean patriot

O'Higgins, labored in this extreme out-of-the-way province, organizing and drilling troops, and gathering supplies for a supreme effort. Chilean patriots flocked to their standard, as did also Argentines, and gradually a well-equipped and disciplined army was prepared.

While San Martin was busy training his army of Chileans and Argentines at Mendoza, affairs at Buenos Aires were in a turbulent condition. Civil war broke out between the military chiefs at the capital and the provinces, while insurrections against the ruling faction at Buenos Aires followed one another in rapid succession. Military dictators rose and fell,

Civil War in Argentina while the provinces more and more ignored the pretense of the Buenos Aires government to rule over them. During this period of disturbance various schemes of government were suggested. Belgrano proposed that the descendant of the Incas be made emperor of South America, while others favored inviting a member of the reigning Portuguese house to rule in Argentina. The only definite result from these proposals was the Declaration of Independence which was made at Tucuman by a Congress assembled there, on July 9, 1816, at which most of the provinces were represented. During the whole of the remaining years of the revolution this turbulent condition prevailed in Argentina; indeed, the contest between Buenos Aires and the outlying provinces continued for long years afterward. Argentina's part in the final struggle for independence in South America is largely the story of the activities on the sea of the Irish sea captain, William Brown, who commanded the Argentine ships, and who succeeded in destroying the Spanish sea power on the Atlantic. This was a large factor in the success of the campaign of San Martin on the Pacific.

The revolutionary movement in Uruguay up to 1816 was more or less a part of the Argentine movement. After the creoles had established their independent junta at Buenos Aires, Montevideo became the refuge for the royalists, and in 1811 the governor of Montevideo received the appointment of viceroy and proceeded to make war upon the creoles of Buenos Aires. The leadership of the Uruguayan patriot forces was

assumed by a dauntless guerrilla leader, José Artigas, who on May 18, 1811, defeated the royalist forces just outside Montevideo, but did not succeed in capturing the city. This was accomplished soon after, however, by an army from Brazil, and the Portuguese continued to hold Uruguay as a part of their territory until 1825, when finally Uruguayan independence was achieved, aided by Buenos Aires.

**The Revolution in
Uruguay**

By the end of 1817 San Martin was ready with his army to begin the invasion of Chile. It was the middle of January when he broke camp and, dividing his forces into two divisions, began the ascent of the lofty Andes. One division was to go up by the Uspallata pass, while the other was to take the more difficult Patos pass to the north. The Spaniards were taken completely by surprise, and on February 12 the combined forces of San Martin and O'Higgins met and defeated the royalists at Chacabuco, situated not far to the east of Santiago. The next day the Spanish governor fled from Santiago, and San Martin entered the city, where he was urged to assume the government. This he declined to do, but suggested that he would be glad to have O'Higgins, his staunch friend and ally, appointed. This was accordingly done. But the independence of Chile was not yet accomplished, for the southern provinces still remained in Spanish hands.

San Martin in Chile

**Battle of Chacabuco,
February 12, 1818**

Soon after the victory at Chacabuco San Martin hurried back to Buenos Aires to urge upon the Argentina government the necessity of creating a fleet on the Pacific, in order to assure the independence of South America. Before he could accomplish his mission news came to San Martin that a Spanish army was active in southern Chile. Hurrying back to Chile, he prepared his army to meet the attack. In the first engagement the royalists attacked the Chilians in the night, and completely surprised them. San Martin was forced to retreat to Santiago. Undismayed by this reverse, the patriot commander reorganized his forces and prepared for the oncoming Spanish army. A few

**The Battle of Maipo,
April 5, 1818**

miles to the south of Santiago, on the morning of April 5, 1818, the battle was joined and after a hard struggle the Spanish army was completely defeated. Twelve hundred royalists were killed out of an army of five thousand, while two thousand two hundred were captured. With this victory the first part of San Martin's comprehensive plan was accomplished, and Chile had won her independence.

Again, after the victory of Maipo, San Martin returned to Buenos Aires to gain the co-operation of Argentina in his attack upon Peru. This he finally accomplished, and a combined fleet of Chilean and Argentina ships was collected in the Pacific, under the command of the British officer, Lord Thomas Cochrane. The fleet was largely manned by British and American sailors. Meanwhile San Martin was engaged in collecting an army for the invasion of Peru. The years 1818 to 1820 were given to this task, and after great discouragements he succeeded by the latter year in getting together an army of some four thousand. Placing this army on board the ships of Lord Cochrane's fleet in August, 1820, they arrived at the bay of Pisco the following month, where they landed without opposition.

San Martin Invades
Peru, September,
1820

Up to this time no revolutionary movement of any consequence had taken place in Peru. Lima alone was defended by nine thousand soldiers, while an army of six thousand was guarding the Bolivian border. San Martin knew he was hopelessly outnumbered, but he also knew that many of the royalists forces were Indians, who were secretly in favor of the revolution. He accordingly adopted the policy of avoiding a pitched battle, while he sent out small bodies of troops to arouse the natives and win them away from the royalist cause. Meanwhile San Martin transferred his main force to Huacho, seventy miles north of Lima.

The policy adopted by San Martin was completely successful. Desertions from the Spanish army became frequent, while the viceroy feared to attack for fear of insurrection at Lima. The royalists were expecting re-enforcements from Spain, where a large army was being prepared. This hoped-for relief, however, was destined not to arrive, for a mutiny among the Span-

ish troops occurred on the very eve of their embarkation, which began a Spanish revolution, making it impossible for Ferdinand to send out any help to the viceroy. When this news reached Pezuela, the viceroy, he determined to return to Spain, and the Spanish officers chose La Serna, one of their own number, to succeed him. La Serna now entered into negotiations with San Martin, hoping to come to some peaceful settlement of the whole South American question. These negotiations, however, were without result and the Spaniards evacuated Lima on July 6. On July 28 San Martin entered the city and a republic was proclaimed, with San Martin the temporary dictator with the title of protector.

San Martin Enters
Lima, July 28, 1821

San Martin continued to manage the affairs of Peru until the summer of 1822, all the time hampered by jealousies and growing distrust on the part of the leading Peruvians. At this time the royalist army began to take the offensive, and San Martin realized the necessity of gaining help. Meanwhile Bolívar was approaching. Sucre had won the battle of Pichincha in May, 1822, thus emancipating Ecuador from Spanish rule. In the fall of 1822 San Martin met Bolívar in the coast town of Guayaquil. Exactly what took place at this interview has never been disclosed, but we know that San Martin offered to serve under Bolívar. San Martin expected to find in Bolívar an unselfish patriot, but of this expectation he was soon disillusioned, for he found the liberator of Colombia busy forming plans for his own aggrandizement. San Martin soon saw that he could not work with Bolívar, and on September 20, 1822, he resigned his authority and retired from Peru, leaving Bolívar in full possession.

The Meeting Between
San Martin and
Bolívar at Guayaquil,
July, 1822

After his retirement San Martin spent some time in Chile, later going to Argentina, but his life became so unpleasant, due to the machinations of his enemies, that he finally left South America, to spend the remainder of his life in Europe. He lived until 1850, dying at Boulogne. San Martin was an extremely modest man. He was never self-seeking, never attempted to gain anything for his own advantage. It is said

that he never made a speech in his life, and he always hated display of every kind. He might have remained in South America and taken part in the endless civil wars, but rather than do that he went into voluntary exile. South Americans have but recently come to appreciate the services of this really great man, and now there are few cities in Argentina that have not erected a monument to his memory. To San Martin, more than to any other, the independence of Argentina, Chile, and Peru is due.

Bolívar now took up the work where San Martin had left it. He had expected that Peru would at once invite him and his army to come to their help, but at first there was no disposition on the part of the Peruvians to do this. There were still many royalist soldiers in Peru, and in 1823 they became active and defeated the Peruvians. Bolívar was now asked to render assistance, and he accordingly entered Lima and was proclaimed director. Leaving Lima, he repaired northward into Colombia, where he hastily gathered an army. This done, he set out for Peru to give aid to Sucre, now hard pressed by royalist forces.

An engagement was fought at Junin on August 5, 1824, at which the patriots barely snatched a victory out of defeat. Later Sucre met the royalists at Ayacucho, in central Peru, about half way between Lima and Cuzco. Here the last battle in the South American wars for independence was fought, and it was a worthy close to the long struggle. Six thousand patriots met and defeated nine thousand royalists. The viceroy was made a prisoner, and soon afterward upward of twenty-three thousand royalist troops surrendered in Peru. Callao still held out for some months longer, but in January, 1826, this last Spanish stronghold gave way, and the whole continent was freed from Spanish domination.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO

PORTUGAL as well as Spain became involved in the Napoleonic wars. After the treaty between France and Spain had brought about friendly relations between those two countries, Portugal continued to admit English ships to her ports. England and Portugal had been on friendly terms for more than two centuries and Portugal was unwilling to forego this friendship at the behest of Napoleon, so when Napoleon demanded that Portugal make war on England, and confiscate all English property, Portugal refused. This refusal led Napoleon to send an army into Portugal. Resistance was hopeless, and Prince John, the regent, determined to take the royal family and sail for Brazil, Portugal's great colony in America. Accordingly, the regent, the Queen, Maria I, his insane mother, his immediate family, and a large number of nobles and officials and the treasury of the kingdom, set sail from Lisbon November 29, 1807. The next day the French army, under Junot, reached Lisbon only to see the masts of the fleet bearing the royal family disappearing down the Tagus.

The court reached Bahia on January 25, 1808, and received a royal welcome from the inhabitants of the old capital, who would have been glad to have the court remain. Rio de Janeiro, however, had been selected as the new seat of the royal family and thither they proceeded after a short stay at Bahia. The coming of the court to Brazil was to begin a new policy, for Prince John at once threw open the ports to foreign commerce and a new era of prosperity began. Previously all intercourse between Brazil and foreign nations had been prohibited, while at the same time the crown drew vast revenues from her great colony. Prince John also removed the restrictions against

Napoleon and
Portugal

The Coming of the
Royal Family to
Brazil, 1807-1808

industries and Brazil enjoyed a new activity along many lines. A royal mint was established, and also a National Bank and Military School, as well as the Royal Printing Press and Medical School.

While these beneficial reforms were taking place the government was being organized on the old Portuguese model. Prince John had brought with him a vast number of officials, ecclesiastics, nobles, and adventurers, all of whom expected support from the people of Brazil. The prince was a well-meaning ruler, but weak and undecided. As officialdom increased the expenses likewise grew, and heavy taxes were imposed upon the people. The regent was lavish with honors

The Court at Rio de Janeiro

and offices, whereas previously titles of nobility had been almost unknown. Brazilians now vied with the Portuguese in seeking these honors and "it is said that Dom John conferred more honorary insignia while in Brazil than had all the kings of the House of Braganza who had preceded him." The management of the finances was bad and it was not long until they were in utmost confusion. But in spite of these handicaps Brazil prospered, for foreign trade brought immigrants, English shipbuilders, and artisans, as well as Swedish, German, and French, who by their example of energy and industry diffused new energy into the country.

The year after the removal of the Portuguese court to Brazil an expedition was sent to occupy French Guiana in retaliation for the French invasion of Portugal. Attempts were also made to seize the Spanish colonies of Montevideo and Buenos Aires, and the Spanish colonists were invited to place themselves under Portuguese protection. This proffer was refused, however, and in 1817 the Brazilians captured Montevideo, which

The Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves

they held as a province of Brazil for a number of years. In 1816 the mad Queen Maria died and Prince John assumed the title, John VI, King of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves. The decision of John VI to remain in Brazil, and the changing of the name of the kingdom produced growing discontent in the homeland. The government in Brazil was not in the hands of natives, for the Portuguese held practically every office, and this condition

produced discontent. This dissatisfaction was heightened by a decree levying heavy taxes upon Brazilian customs for a period of forty years for the benefit of the nobles of Portugal, who had suffered in the war with France.

In 1817 plots were discovered both in Portugal and Brazil looking toward the establishment of popular government, but were easily put down. The discovery of republican desires on the part of the Brazilians induced the king to send to Portugal for a body of forty-five hundred veteran troops, who were stationed at the various important centers. In 1820 another rev-

olution broke out in Portugal, and this time representative government was established.

The Revolution of
1820

The Portuguese troops stationed in Brazil were friendly toward this liberal movement and revolted in order to compel the king to accept the constitution which had been proclaimed in Portugal. Things were in a serious condition when Dom Pedro, the son of King John, came forward as a mediator between the troops and the king. The king finally accepted the constitution and appointed a new ministry.

Soon after this King John decided to return to Portugal, influenced by public opinion there and also by the British government. This he did much against his desire, leaving Dom Pedro as regent. Fortunately for Brazil, many of the nobles and hangers-on of the court accompanied him, though he carried off a vast sum of specie from the National Bank. This

The Movement
Toward Nationalism
in Brazil

procedure filled the Brazilians with alarm, and when the Cortes of Portugal ordered the prince, Dom Pedro, also to return, a crisis was precipitated. Brazilians foresaw that if their prince returned to Portugal, Brazil would probably be reduced to her old position as a colony instead of remaining an integral part of the kingdom, and the old restrictions would be renewed. As a result of this the patriotic party, which had before consisted only of those who favored a republic, now began to advocate separation from the mother country. Dom Pedro was torn asunder. He did not wish to be a traitor to his father or to Portugal, and for a time he strongly considered returning to Portugal.

The leader of the party for Brazilian independence was José e Silva Bonifacio de Andrada, a native of São Paulo, and his two brothers. Andrada was a man of statesmanlike qualities, besides being a distinguished scientist. He had taken part in the Peninsular war, had become disgusted with the Portuguese government, and on his return to Brazil, in 1819, became a staunch advocate of separation and independence. On the demand of the Cortes that Dom Pedro return, great pressure was brought to bear upon the prince by leading Brazilians, and he was at last persuaded to remain and defend Brazil not against his father but against the Cortes. A new ministry was formed in which Andrada was given a chief place, while a Legislative Assembly was called on June 3, 1822. At first Dom Pedro accepted the title of "Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil." Finally, on September 7, 1822, the independence of Brazil was declared by the prince, and on October 12 he was declared the constitutional emperor of Brazil.

The Independence of
Brazil, September 7,
1822

Several of the ports were still occupied by Portuguese troops, and the next thing attempted after the declaration of independence was to secure these ports. Lord Thomas Cochrane was made the commander of the imperial fleet of Brazil, and he successfully blockaded the coast. On July 2, 1823, the Portuguese commander at Bahia was forced to surrender, and soon after the garrison at Montevideo was also expelled. By the end of the year the emperor was established securely upon his new throne, and the empire of Brazil had become an accomplished fact. On August 29, 1825, largely through British influence, Portugal recognized the independence of Brazil.

Expulsion of
Portuguese Troops
from Brazil

THE INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO

The causes of the revolution in Mexico were somewhat different from those which gave liberty to South America. Besides the jealousy existing between the creole class and the European-born Spaniards, the oppressive taxation and bad economic policies, there were certain other grievances peculiar to Mexico. In 1804 certain benevolent funds, amounting to

\$45,000,000, invested in mortgages, were called in for the benefit of Spain. As a result there were many forced sales,

and many were ruined. There followed also other exactions and confiscations, and when Joseph Bonaparte succeeded Ferdinand VII on the throne of Spain the City of Mexico urged the viceroy, Iturrigaray, to declare the country independent. The viceroy proposed a Congress, but before it could be called together a conspiracy, made up mostly of Spaniards who feared separation would result in their loss of their privileged positions, overthrew the viceroy, and he was sent to Spain a prisoner.

The next two viceroys were men who possessed few qualities for that office. There were several trials for treason as a result of the previous outbreak, which increased the discontent, and the revolutionary element increased in numbers. The first phase of the Mexican revolution began in 1810 and continued for ten years. These first ten years were characterized by Indian revolts, which were badly organized and accomplished very little for the cause of independence. A revolution broke out in 1810 to the north of Mexico City, in Queretaro and

Guanajuato. The leaders of this revolt were Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a native priest, and Allende, a captain of cavalry. Their forces were largely made up of Indians, badly organized and poorly armed. On September 28, 1810, they attacked the town of Guanajuato, which was defended by the intendent. After bloody hand-to-hand fighting the rebels took the fortress. Hidalgo now proceeded toward Mexico City, fighting as he went. Learning that a large force was coming against him from San Luis Potosí, he decided it was best to retreat to the district from which his support was derived. This retreat led to desertions, so that when he was attacked by the royalist forces at Celaya the insurgents were routed. Hidalgo now reorganized his forces once more and, proceeding to Guadalajara, set up a form of government. The insurgents were now in possession of territory stretching from sea to sea, and including the present states of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí.

In the beginning of the year 1811 Hidalgo moved out of

Causes of the
Mexican Revolution

The First Phase of
the Mexican
Revolution, 1810-1820

Guadalajara with his entire force, which consisted of 60,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 100 cannon. The royalist forces were much smaller, numbering not more than 6,000 all told,

The Overthrow and Execution of Hidalgo but they were well disciplined, and under a skillful commander. On January 21 a battle was fought near the city of Guadalajara, which resulted in the complete victory of the royalists. Hidalgo fled, turning over the command of the army to Allende. The defeat of the patriot forces was a serious blow to the cause. Town after town now yielded to the victors, while the leaders attempted to escape to the United States. They were soon captured and the judgment of death upon Hidalgo and Allende followed.

The revolution, however, was not entirely overthrown. In the southern provinces a small body of insurgents remained under arms under the leadership of another native priest, José María Morelos. For two years this energetic leader kept life in the movement, winning some victories and capturing some towns, taking Acapulco in 1813. In the early part of 1814 the insurgent forces appeared before the capital of the province of

The Revolution Under Morelos. Execution of Morelos, December, 1815

Michoacan, where they were met by a force of royalists under Iturbide and defeated. The patriots were maintaining a form of government, under a Congress, and so numerous were the adherents that in 1814 the viceroy appealed to the home government for a re-enforcement of eight thousand men. The patriot forces now suffered disaster after disaster. In the latter part of 1815 Morelos was captured, and soon after met the same fate as his fellow patriot, Hidalgo. During 1816 the war continued without any result on either side, and in the fall a new viceroy came out to succeed Calleja. The new viceroy adopted a policy of conciliation, which, combined with skill and energy, caused the surrender of the leading rebel officers in January, 1817, leaving only a few guerrilla bands. With this the first phase of the Mexican revolution closed.

In 1820 a revolution broke out in Spain, the object of which was to compel Ferdinand VII to accept the constitution which had been adopted in Spain in 1812. This constitution provided



for a liberal form of government. The promulgation of this constitution in Mexico had a very different effect from what was anticipated. On the one hand it revived the spirit of independence which had been smouldering since the overthrow of the former revolutionary movement; on the other hand, the effect upon the European-born Spaniards and high church officials was quite different. These classes, composing the Conservative party, opposed the constitution, fearing it would

**The Conservative
Revolution**

curtail their privileges. Although he had taken an oath to support the constitution, Apodaca, the viceroy, secretly favored the opposition, and plans were now laid by the conservatives to declare the independence of Mexico from a liberal Spain. The church favored this movement, fearing that a liberal government would force on them disendowment, toleration, and other radical reforms. Agustin de Iturbide was induced to become the commander of the forces of the conservatives. Iturbide, however, seems to have had far different intentions from those held by the European-born Spaniards. He now conceived the idea of uniting the Conservative and Creole

The Plan of Iguala

forces and of proclaiming the independence of Mexico. It was at the town of Iguala, near Acapulco, that he proclaimed this project, on February 24, 1821. For this reason it has become known as the "Plan of Iguala." It declared that Mexico should be an independent nation, with a constitutional monarchy headed by a Bourbon prince, and the Catholic faith as its form of religion.

The next move was the deposition of the viceroy and the appointment of a military officer in his place, who, however, had but little authority. The survivors of the early movements now flocked to the standard of Iturbide, and by July, 1821, the whole country recognized his authority.

**The Independence of
Mexico**

At this juncture a new viceroy, O'Donoju, came out from Spain. An interview was arranged between him and Iturbide at Cordoba, and there the viceroy was persuaded to accept the plan of Iguala to put a Bourbon upon the throne of Mexico. On September 27, 1821, the capital was entered by the insurgent army with-

out bloodshed, the independence of Mexico having been declared.

Provision was now made for the assembling of a Congress, which came together on February 24, 1822. When Congress met three parties were found among its members: the Bourbonists, who favored the plan of Iguala; the Republicans, who favored the establishment of a federal republic; and the Iturbidites, who desired to put Iturbide upon the throne. In the

meantime it was learned that the government of Spain refused to recognize the independence of Mexico, and thus there was no chance

to place a Bourbon upon the throne. The only two parties left were the Republican and the party of Iturbide. Finally, on May 18, Iturbide was elected emperor under the title of Augustin the First. The ratification of this action was soon given by the provinces and the new reign started most favorably. Iturbide, however, assumed all the airs of an hereditary monarch; a struggle for power between the emperor and Congress immediately began, which finally ended with the emperor's overthrow.

Iturbide exerted his authority with a high hand and proceeded to imprison the leading members of Congress, finally proclaiming its dissolution. A junta was appointed in its place, nominated by the emperor. This action led to the breaking out of revolts in the northern provinces in November, which, however, were readily suppressed. The next month saw another more serious revolt, led by a young general, Santa

Anna, who was soon joined by a number of the old Republican leaders. Immediately the whole population flocked to the Republican standard and Iturbide found himself practically deserted. This led him to abdicate on March 19, 1823, promising at the same time to leave the country, not, however, until he had been assured an allowance of \$25,000 annually. In May he embarked for Italy. He remained in Europe only a year, returning in disguise July, 1824. On learning of his intention to return, Congress had passed a law outlawing him, and he had no sooner landed than he was seized and almost immediately shot. With the

**Iturbide Elected
Emperor**

Overthrow of Iturbide

adoption of a new constitution in October, 1824, the republic of Mexico was created.

The independence of Central America was accomplished without the shedding of blood, as there were no Spanish troops stationed there. Central America was a neglected part of the Spanish colonial empire, and in the latter part of its colonial history was governed by a captain-general, whose seat of government was in Guatemala. It was not until both Co-

Central American Independence

lombia to the south and Mexico on the north had achieved their independence that the people of Central America took any steps toward asserting their own independence. In September, 1821, Guatemala declared herself free, to be followed soon afterward by San Salvador and Honduras. The Spanish officials could make no resistance to these declarations. They fled to Cuba and from thence to Spain. During the brief reign of Iturbide Central America was annexed to Mexico, though there was some resistance to this plan. When, however, a republic was proclaimed in Mexico in 1824, the Central American states withdrew from the confederation and drove out the Mexican officials. A federation of the Central American States was then formed, modeled after the government of the United States.

In winning their independence the Latin-American states had received encouragement and help from both England and the United States. In the early years of the struggle England, by her naval victories over the French and the Spanish, made it impossible for aid to be sent to the Spanish royalist officials in South and Central America. At the close of the Napoleonic

The Relation of Eng- land to the Spanish- American Wars for Independence

wars England and Spain entered into a treaty, England promising to prevent her subjects from supplying the insurgents in America with war supplies. In spite of this treaty, however, Englishmen continued to give active aid to the Spanish rebels. Soldiers were openly enlisted in London, ships were chartered for South American service and loaded with supplies at British ports, and as we have already seen, more than one battle was decided in favor of the patriots by the participation of British legions and British sailors. In

1817, when Ferdinand of Spain proposed that the allied powers of Europe assist Spain in reducing her rebellious colonists to submission, England's attitude defeated the nefarious proposition. It was England's desire for South American trade, coupled with her love for liberty and popular government, which accounts for her action.

As early as 1817 the United States sent commissioners to South America, and in 1822 recognized the independence of Colombia, Chile, Buenos Aires, and Mexico. In the summer of 1823 a French army had invaded Spain to put down the rebellion there and the European allies were considering measures for the settlement of Spain's colonial difficulties. Great Britain had already intimated to the European states that she considered the separation of the colonies from Spain as accomplished, though she had not as yet recognized their independence. Canning, the British foreign minister, sought the co-operation of the United States in formulating a South American policy, but as Great Britain refused immediate recognition

The Formulation of
the Monroe Doctrine

for the Latin-American states, the United States proceeded to formulate its own policy.

While both the United States and England were friends to liberal government, yet there was considerable rivalry between them, because England feared the United States would obtain a supremacy in South American affairs. England notified the allied powers that she would oppose any step on their part looking toward intervention in American affairs, and since England controlled the sea, her protest was very important. This was done in October, 1823, while in December of that year President Monroe sent his famous message to the American Congress. In that message he stated that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of the absolute monarchies of Europe "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." He further stated that the United States could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing the South American States, or "controlling in any manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

This, with the protest already made by England, was sufficient to keep the European powers from carrying out their intention of interfering with the South American revolutions. In spite of these protests on the part of England and the United States, and the recognition of their independence, Spain kept up the pretense of carrying on the wars in America until 1830. In that year the papal court opened up relations with the South American countries, which was an important concession, and in the course of the next twenty-five years Spain recognized the independence of each of her one-time colonies.

After the liberation of South America from Spanish rule Bolívar devoted the remainder of his life to unite Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia into a great republic. In 1824 he was in Peru, where he received a message from the Colombian Congress informing him that on account of his absence he could no longer be recognized as the president of Colombia. He continued, however, in Peru, forming upper Peru, or Bolivia, into a republic, naming Sucre as president. In 1825 he returned to Lima, where he was received with great enthusiasm. Here he devoted himself to the assembling of a Pan-American Congress, to meet at Panama, and invited delegates from Peru, Chile, Mexico, and Buenos Aires to attend. The inefficiency of the government of the states to the north finally induced him to return thither, and he left Lima in November, 1826. On his return to Bogotá he was again proclaimed sole

The Last Years of
Simon Bolívar

ruler, but his scheme for a greater Colombia failed. The rulers he left in Peru and Bolivia were overthrown soon after his departure, while in 1829 the towns in Venezuela one after another declared their separation from Colombia. In 1830 Ecuador also withdrew and another independent republic was established. Bolívar now proposed that a Bourbon prince be crowned ruler at Bogotá, as a last effort to unite the several states, but this likewise came to naught. In 1830 Bolívar resigned his authority and retired to Cartagena, from whence he expected to sail for Europe. Before he could get away, however, he was seized with consumption and died, still a young man of forty-seven.

Bolívar is considered by the South Americans as the greatest of the American liberators. They think of him much as we think of Washington, though he was a very different man from our Washington. In his ambitions he was nearer like Napoleon. He was indifferent to money, but craved power. Like Napoleon, he won the devotion of the people and he was the only one of the revolutionary leaders who succeeded in gathering about him a group of able lieutenants, devoted to himself and to the work of winning independence. In many respects he was of statesmanship proportions, though his greatest dream, the creation of a great South American confederation, was never realized. He had some personal qualities which do not attract North Americans to him. He was on many occasions bloodthirsty and cruel, but he was also generous and brave. He was impetuous and sensual, living during his later years with a concubine. Although he was a disciple of Rousseau, and believed in the sovereignty of the people, yet in order to bring about order he was willing to create a monarchy. On his deathbed he wrote: "I blush to admit it, but independence is the only benefit we have achieved, and that has been at the cost of all others. Our constitutions are books, our laws papers, our elections combats, and life itself a torment. We shall arrive at such a state that no foreign nation will condescend to conquer us, and we shall be governed by petty tyrants." Thus did the great liberator clearly foresee the nature of the first decade of South American independence.

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CHAPTER XV

THE BACKWARD STATES AND THE MILITARY DICTATORS: VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, AND ECUA- DOR

IN all of the Latin American states during the first period of independence ignorant soldiers were at the head of the governments. The lieutenants of Bolívar ruled in the north and northwestern states, while other rulers, equally inefficient, ruled in Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. During the early years of independence Latin America has little history worth remembering in detail. A brilliant South American has summed

Characteristics of the
Period

up these years as follows: "The political comedy is repeated periodically: a revolution, a dictator; a program of national restoration, followed by another revolution, another dictator, etc." Anarchy led to dictatorships, and these in turn provoked revolutions. The north and northwestern states had been united both in colonial and revolutionary times, but became divided into several separate states, largely at the behest of the military dictators. All of the states established liberal constitutions, modeled after the French or the United States, but these constitutions were powerless to produce actual republican governments, in opposition to the military dictators.

VENEZUELA

The period of the military dictators in Venezuela lasted almost down to our own day. At the death of Bolívar all thought of reunion with Colombia came to an end and Venezuela began her independent career. Her separation was

The Re-creation of
the Republic of
Venezuela

largely due to the ambitions of General Páez, who had been a lieutenant of Bolívar. He caused a constitutional convention to be assembled in May, 1830, where a federal constitution was drawn up, much like that of the United States, and Páez was

elected president and assumed office in 1831. From that time until 1850 Páez largely dominated affairs in Venezuela. though he served as president only two terms—1831–1835; 1839–1843. Between the two terms of Páez, José M. Vargas (1835–1836), the rector of the University of Caracas, and Carlos Soublette (1836–1839) served as presidents. Vargas resigned after a revolution, and his term was completed by Soublette, one of the heroes of the wars for independence. During both admin-

**The Period of the
Dominance of General
Páez, 1830–1850**

istrations of Páez the country progressed, peace prevailed, and numerous reforms were inaugurated. A larger freedom of the press was granted; immigration was encouraged; the national debt was funded and a national bank established. Páez showed wisdom in urging Congress to adopt a policy of road building connecting sea ports and the more important cities. A trade treaty was signed with Sweden and Norway, and an agreement was made with Great Britain looking toward the abolishment of the slave trade. Among the measures recommended by Páez was the removal of the body of the great Liberator Bolívar from Santa Marta to the cathedral at Caracas, which was accomplished in 1842. Carlos Soublette again became president in 1843, continuing the policies of Páez.

In the election of 1846 the candidate of the Conservative party, or the party of Páez and Soublette, was General José Tadeo Monagas. Meanwhile another party, known as the Liberal, had arisen, with Antonio Leocadio Guzmán as its candidate. Guzmán had been conducting an anti-Conservative paper known as *El Venezolano*, in which attacks had been made

**The Presidency of
José Tadeo Monagas
and the Overthrow of
Páez**

upon the domination of Páez and the lower classes had been aroused. In the election Monagas was elected and Guzmán was afterward condemned to death. Monagas, however, was more of a Liberal than a Conservative, and commuted Guzmán's penalty to exile, while other liberal acts soon aroused the Conservatives against him, among them Páez. The insurrection which followed was successfully suppressed and Páez sent into exile, in 1850.

Venezuela had passed through the first years of her inde-

pendence with little disturbance, but beginning with the overthrow and exile of Páez (1850) a period of civil wars and constitutional change began which lasted for twenty years. The rival parties, in this period of internal dissensions, were the Federalists or the Liberals and the Centralists or the Conservatives. The two brothers, José Tadeo Monagas and General José Gregorio Monagas, controlled the presidency for

The Monagas Regime,
1850-1858, and the
Return of Páez,
1861-1864

eight years. During this short period there were three changes in the constitution; in 1857 a centralist constitution, giving the president power to appoint the governors of provinces, was promulgated, only to be overthrown the next year and replaced by a federal constitution in which the governors of the provinces were to be elected by the people. There now ensued a period of civil war during which Páez was invited to return to Venezuela. Returning in March, 1861, he became dictator once more and together with General Juan Falcón succeeded in allaying the passions of civil strife, a national Assembly was elected and General Falcón was selected as president. Another constitution was adopted by the Assembly in 1864 which formed the United States of Venezuela. During this period of rapid constitutional change and civil strife slavery was abolished in Venezuela. This was accomplished in 1854 by an act of the Venezuelan Congress on the recommendation of President José Gregorio Monagas.

President Falcón (1864-1868) during his administration was much troubled by insurrections while his policies were opposed by Congress. The President, however, refused to use force against the Congress, and the opposition, under the leadership of the elder Monagas, finally triumphed and Falcón was forced to spend his last days in exile. There now came forward a leader destined to dominate Venezuelan politics for nearly twenty years, in the person of Antonio Guzmán Blanco, the son of the former leader of the Liberals, Antonio Guzmán. In many

The Period of Guzmán
Blanco, 1870-1888

respects he resembled Páez, and during the period of his domination the building of roads and railroads was promoted, codes of laws prepared, the national debt reorganized,

civil marriage proclaimed, and the keeping of vital statistics provided for. He strongly opposed the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church, and planned a national church independent of the papacy. The Venezuelan Congress bestowed upon him the title "Illustrious American" and "Regenerator and Pacificator of Venezuela." During the period of his domination the constitution was twice changed, in 1874 and again in 1881. During the latter part of the Guzmán-Blanco domination Joaquín Crespo (1884-1886) and Juan Rojas Paul (1887-1888) held the executive office during prolonged absences of Guzmán Blanco in Europe. During these latter years opposition to the dictator was increasing and his power was finally overthrown.

There now followed another period of civil strife which lasted until the end of the century. Again Crespo came into power at the head of revolutionary forces and assumed the executive authority (1892). The next year a constitutional convention adopted a new instrument of government, which went into

**The Second Presidency of Crespo and the Boundary Dispute with England.
1892-1899**

force July 5, 1893. Under this new constitution Crespo was elected president for the second time, and began his administration in March, 1894. The outstanding event of this

administration was the boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela, resulting in the intervention of the United States. Great Britain refused to arbitrate, when Venezuela broke off diplomatic relations with Great Britain and appealed to the United States for assistance. President Cleveland and his Secretary of State Olney came valiantly to the aid of Venezuela and succeeded in persuading Great Britain to submit the question of the disputed boundary to arbitration.

President Crespo was succeeded in the presidential office by General Ignacio Andrade, who had served as Venezuelan minister to the United States. Insurrection, however, soon broke out against this administration, headed by General Cipriano Castro. The government was overturned and Castro, "The Lion of the Andes," assumed authority, and for a period of ten years was supreme in Venezuelan affairs. A new constitution was adopted in 1904 and the next year Castro was chosen

constitutional president for a period of six years. Though cruel and unscrupulous, Castro displayed great interest in promoting public improvements, and roads, parks, and fine public buildings was the commendable result. Because of these heavy expenditures large European loans were made, and these obligations Castro disregarded. Because of this and the failure of Venezuela to pay claims of Europeans who had suffered during the frequent revolts, England, Italy and Germany decided (1903) on armed intervention. President Roosevelt demanded that the matter be settled by arbitration, and to this England and Italy at once agreed, but Germany refused until the President's threat to send down Admiral Dewey with the United States fleet brought the German emperor to terms. The dispute was finally settled by a commission which determined that Venezuela should pay her just debts, though at the same time the commission found that in most cases the claims were exorbitant and unjust.

Castro's régime came to an end in 1908 when the vice-president, Juan Vicente Gomez, headed a bloodless revolution while Castro was in Europe, ostensibly to undergo a surgical operation. Gomez was proclaimed provisional president in 1909, and after the adoption of a new constitution (August, 1908) was elected constitutional president (August, 1910) for a term of four years. Friends of Castro attempted to restore him to power in 1913, but this movement was successfully blocked. The last constitution to be adopted was in 1914,

when the present instrument of government went into effect, which provides for a presidential term of seven years. In this year Victoriano M. Bustillos was chosen president, but refused to serve, and the next year (1915) Gomez was chosen, and in May, 1922, was again unanimously re-elected.

At the present time Venezuela is composed of twenty states, each with its own president and legislative assembly. There are also two territories administered by governors appointed by the president of the republic and a federal district. The government of the republic is federal. There is a Congress

made up of two houses, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate is composed of two senators from each state elected for a term of three years, while the lower house is composed of members elected directly by the people, one for every 35,000 people. The president has a Cabinet of seven members who are responsible to the Congress. The capital of the republic is Caracas, which has a population of 73,000 and is located 23 miles inland at an elevation of 3,000 feet.

The Present Govern-
ment of Venezuela

COLOMBIA

We have already noticed that after the two decisive battles which gave independence to Colombia and Venezuela (Boyaca, 1819; Carabobo, 1821) Bolívar called a Congress at Cúcuta (1821), where a constitution was adopted for "Great Colombia." The same year Bolívar was chosen president and Francisco de Paula Santander, a native of New Granada, vice-president. Bolívar accepted the presidency with the understanding that the chief civil authority was to be exercised by Santander until Bolívar had finished the task of liberating the presidency of Quito (Ecuador) and the viceroyalty of Peru.

Great Colombia,
1821-1831

The next year Ecuador was freed by the battle of Pichincha (1822) and was at once united to Great Colombia. Due to an attempt of the Congress to discipline General Páez, who was in charge of two Venezuelan departments, a rebellion against the government was begun, in 1826. Hearing of this revolt, Bolívar hurried to Venezuela, where Páez at once acknowledged the authority of his old commander. But just as soon as the liberator had departed the movement for separation was continued, and in 1829 it was resolved by an Assembly at Caracas that Venezuela should separate from Great Colombia. The separation was accomplished the next year (1830), and the same year a separatist movement was begun in Ecuador. Thus the dream of Bolívar for the formation of a great republic in northern South America came to a tragic end the very year of his death.

For a year after the breakup of Great Colombia the republic of New Granada was governed under the constitution of

Colombia. In February, 1832, the constitution of the state of New Granada was adopted, and General Santander was chosen the first president. Under Santander education was promoted; a treaty was signed with Venezuela and Ecuador dividing the debt of Great Colombia equitably between them; a national flag was adopted; and the country as a whole made commendable progress. The constitution provided that the president should serve but four years, and at the end of Santander's term of office José de Márquez, a statesman of ability, was elected. During his term of office an insurrection began, caused by the government's suppression of certain monasteries, and this was the beginning of a series of civil wars which lasted until the election of the next president, Pedro A. Herrán, in 1842. Under this president a new constitution was adopted (1843) in which the power of the president was greatly increased, by allowing him a larger appointive and removal power of federal officers, as well as the governors of provinces.

In 1845 General Tomás de Mosquera became president, and under his administration peace and progress prevailed. These years saw the beginning of steam navigation on the Magdalena; the institution of a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama; the reforming of the monetary system of the country and the prohibition of the slave trade. Although a conservative these liberal measures of Mosquera gave rise to a party which called itself Liberal, and in the next election this party's candidate was chosen president, in the person of José H. López. In this administration a series of radical reforms was begun which swept away many of the inherited institutions. In 1850 the Jesuits were expelled; all slaves were declared free after January 1, 1852, though the slave owners were compensated; and the next year (1853), in the administration of General Obando, a constitution was adopted, the most liberal of any that had yet been formulated in Latin America. In this liberal instrument of government, religious liberty was proclaimed; absolute freedom of the press and of

First Years of the
Republic of New
Granada, 1831-1845

The Beginning of the
Period of Liberal
Reforms: 1845-1861

thought was guaranteed; jury trial was inaugurated, and in the same year Congress passed a law separating church and state. Suffrage was greatly widened, it being granted to every citizen. The constitution of 1857 created the "Granadan Confederation," a loose federal system which gave place to another in 1863. In 1861 Mosquera, then the governor of the state of Cauca, displeased by a law limiting the state officials, started a revolution which placed him again at the head of the government. He remained in power until 1867, when he was exiled, accused of misconduct in office. During the years of his power, religious reforms were carried to an extreme; convents and religious houses were suppressed; Jesuits were again expelled and the property of the church was taken over by the state. Naturally, these extreme measures aroused bitter opposition on the part of the Conservatives, who stanchly took the part of the church and became practically a clerical party.

The overthrow of Mosquera was the signal for the outbreak of civil strife between the two parties for control of the government, and finally, in 1880, Rafael Núñez came to power. Núñez was nominally a Liberal when first elected, but he soon became the head of a new party called the Nationalists, which advocated a strong centralized government and the return of the power of Roman Catholicism. This was accomplished in the constitution of 1886—the present constitution—which gives education into the hands of the church, declares Roman Catholicism the religion of the state, exempts religious buildings from taxation, and creates a centralized republic. During

The Return of Con-
servative Control
Under Rafael Núñez,
1880-1894

the Núñez régime a concordat (1887) was negotiated with the papacy which recognized the Roman Church in Colombia as independent of the civil authority, granted the church control of education, gave over the cemeteries to ecclesiastical control, and granted full privileges to all religious orders of establishing themselves in the country.

This Conservative reaction naturally aroused resentment among the Liberals which brought on civil war which took a religious nature. The Liberals demanded clerical and church reforms, while the Nationalists clung to their stanch support

of Roman Catholicism. It was during these fierce struggles that negotiations were begun between the United States and Colombia for the construction of the Panama Canal. When the United States Congress decided to build a canal over the Panama route, a treaty was negotiated known as the Hay-Herrán Treaty, which gave the United States the Canal Zone, on the payment of \$10,000,000 and an annual payment of

The Panama Negotiations and Colombia's Loss of Panama

\$250,000. This treaty was ratified by the United States Senate, but the Colombian Senate refused to ratify. This action of the

Colombian Senate soon aroused those interested in building the canal, and an insurrection broke out in Panama against the Colombian government. United States war vessels prevented Colombian soldiers from landing upon the Isthmus, and within four days the independence of the republic of Panama was recognized by President Roosevelt. A treaty was speedily made with the newly created republic and the construction of the canal was begun.

The outstanding Colombian in these negotiations was Rafael Reyes, who was sent to Washington as Colombian representative to attempt to secure redress for the loss of Panama. This he was unable to accomplish, but on his return to Colombia he was elected president. Reyes at once assumed the authority of a dictator, having decided that the only hope for his dis-

The Administration of Rafael Reyes, 1904-1910

tracted country was a strong administration. He disregarded the constitutional provisions and overrode the Congress and attempted to

extend his term of office until 1914. His arbitrary policies aroused resentment, however, and he was forced to resign in 1910.

The outstanding accomplishment since that date is the signing and ratification of the Thompson-Urrutia treaty. By this treaty, signed in 1914, Colombia was to receive from the United States \$25,000,000 for injuries caused by the loss of Panama, and was to have special concessions and privileges over the Panama railroad and in the use of the canal. This treaty, somewhat modified, was ratified by the United States Senate in April, 1920, and by Colombia in December of the same year.

The United States paid the first installment of this indemnity on December 7, 1922. Colombia remained neutral during the World War, and she has been accused of adopting this policy because of resentment at the delay of the United States in ratifying the indemnity treaty, though it would seem that neutrality, entirely aside from her relationship with the United States, was for her a wise and natural policy.

In 1926 Dr. Miguel Abadia Mendez was elected president for the term 1926-1930.

Colombia has an area of 460,000 square miles and an approximate population of 5,000,000. For purposes of administration, the country is divided into 15 departments, 2 intendencias, and 7 comisarias. The latter two divisions are sparsely populated districts, corresponding to territories in the federal republics. Bogotá, the capital of the republic, has a population of 121,000, and is located about 600 miles from the coast, at an elevation of 8,500 feet. Colombia is a centralized republic. There is

The Thompson-Urrutia Treaty, 1914; 1921

Political Divisions and Government of Colombia

a president who is elected by the Congress for four years; a Cabinet of seventeen members appointed by the president; a Senate composed of three from each department, chosen by the local governor and council, while from the federal district are three appointed by the president. The lower house, or Chamber of Deputies, is elected by the people, one for every 50,000 voters. The Catholic religion is recognized as the state religion, though other creeds are now tolerated and may own property and conduct services. In recent years the educational system has been somewhat improved by requiring government inspection of the schools.

ECUADOR

Ecuador began her independent career as a province of Great Colombia after the battle of Pichincha (1822) and this was her status until 1830. In that year a movement started in Quito which resulted in the creation of the republic of Ecuador. The first president was General Juan José Flores, a lieutenant of Bolívar. Flores largely dominated Ecuadorian politics for

fifteen years, and was elected president three times—in 1830, 1839, and 1843. The rule of General Flores, who was a Con-

The First Three Dec-
ades of the Republic
of Ecuador; 1830-1845.
Flores and Roca-
fuerte

servative, aroused opposition among the Liberals, and a party was formed under the leadership of Vicente Rocafuerte, who had absorbed liberal notions in England and the United States. Conflicts between Flores and Rocafuerte followed, and the latter was finally captured and thrown into prison. While Rocafuerte was in prison Flores made an agreement with him to divide the public functions between them, in order to bring peace and harmony to Ecuador. Accordingly, Rocafuerte succeeded Flores as president, while Flores became the head of the army. Rocafuerte attempted to introduce reforms in the management of the Indians, in education, and tried to limit the power of the Roman Catholic Church. Following Rocafuerte's term, Flores was twice elected president, in 1839 and 1843. A new constitution of 1843 extended the president's term to eight years, and when Flores was elected president under this constitution the Liberals suspected that he was aiming at a life dictatorship and a revolution broke out which soon drove him into exile.

The next fifteen years in the history of Ecuador were filled with civil war and troubles with New Granada and Peru. During this period (1845-1860) there were four presidents and three changes in the constitution. This period of civil strife was brought to an end by Gabriel Garcia Moreno, who came into power in 1861 and dominated Ecuador for another fifteen years.

The Age of Garcia
Moreno, 1861-1875

Moreno was elected president under a new constitution in 1861 and immediately inaugurated a program of economy and reform. He refused to take his salary as chief executive, donating it to charity; good roads were planned and built; a mint and hospital established; and an attempt made to put down brigandage. Moreno was obsessed with the necessity of restoring the power of the Roman Catholic Church in Ecuador and did everything in his power to bring that about. In 1862 a concordat was signed with the papal government which declared that Roman Catholicism should be the only religion of the republic, that no religion

condemned by the Catholic Church should ever be allowed in Ecuador, that public and private education should be completely under church control, and that ecclesiastical courts should have complete jurisdiction over church matters. During Moreno's third administration he became more and more under the influence of Catholicism and went to absurd lengths to advance the church. Gifts were made to the papacy from the republic's treasury, and in 1873 a law was promulgated consecrating the republic to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

This complete surrender to the church aroused opposition on the part of the Liberals, and in August, 1875, Moreno was assassinated by his enemies. There now followed a struggle between the Clericals and the Liberals for control of the country, and the nation was in confusion. Finally, in 1895, after three changes in the presidency and two constitutions, a Liberal leader, General Eloy Alfaro, came to power as head of the republic. During his period of power the attempt was made to limit the power of the church. A new constitution (1897) was promulgated in which Roman Catholicism was declared the state religion and all other forms of religion were excluded that were contrary to morals. Alfaro also took steps

The Period of
President Eloy Alfaro,
1895-1912

to limit the power and privileges of the clergy and a number of laws were passed legalizing civil marriage and protecting the ministers of other religions. Alfaro served as president twice, 1897-1901, 1907-1912. One of the most notable events of this period in Ecuadorian history is the building of the railroad from Quito to Guayaquil, begun in Alfaro's first administration and completed in his last (1908). Alfaro was overthrown in 1911 and placed in prison, from which he was later taken and murdered.

Later presidents of Ecuador are General Plaza, 1912-1916; Alfredo Moreno, 1916-1920; José Tamayo, 1920-1924; and Gonzalo S. Cordoba, 1924-1928.

Ecuador has an estimated area of something over 200,000 square miles and a population of about 2,000,000. The present constitution of Ecuador dates from 1906, and is the twelfth since the founding of the republic. The president is elected for a term of four years and is assisted by a Cabinet of five

ministers. There is also a Council of State composed of fourteen members which is a consultative body. The legislative branch of the government is composed of two houses, the Senate and House of Deputies, both elected by popular vote. There are two senators for each of the sixteen provinces, while the Chamber of Deputies is composed of 48 members, one for each 30,000 of the population. The capital of the Republic is Quito, located 150 miles from the west coast, with a population of about 80,000. Guayaquil is the principal seaport, with a population of 140,000.

The Government of
Ecuador

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CHAPTER XVI

THE BACKWARD STATES: PERU, BOLIVIA, AND PARAGUAY

PERU

FOR more than a year after the overthrow of Spanish power in Peru, Bolívar was dictator, but in September, 1826, he was summoned to Colombia, and was followed by all the Colombian troops. Later in the same year the Peruvian Congress adopted a constitution, based on the constitution Bolívar had prepared for Bolivia. This, however, gave place in 1828 to another constitution. No sooner had the great liberator departed than the country entered upon a period of strife bordering on anarchy. Indeed, from 1827 to 1844, Peru was in the grip of the officers who commanded at Ayacucho. During this period there were four constitutions and almost constant strife.

Early Peruvian
Dictators, 1826-1844

General José de la Mar was the first president elected. La Mar soon became involved in war with Colombia and Bolivia largely over boundary disputes. After suffering defeat at the hands of General Sucre, La Mar was overthrown and was succeeded by General Gamarra, who was soon followed by Luis José Obregosa. At this juncture President Santa Cruz of Bolivia intervened and attempted to unite Peru with Bolivia. This came to an end in 1839, when Gamarra again came to the presidency and the constitution of 1839 was formulated. There finally emerged out of the welter of strife and constitutional changes a leader capable of restoring peace and orderly government. This leader was Ramón Castilla, an officer who had served under Sucre, and had taken an important part in the affairs of his country, since independence. In 1844, he drew his sword in behalf of the constitutional president Menendez and against the Dictator-General Vivanco, and the following year (1845) he became the president of Peru.

Ramón Castilla is one of Peru's greatest men, and his two administrations (1849-1851; 1855-1862) mark the beginning of a new era for Peru. After suppressing the internal insurrections, Castilla gave his attention to the financial and economic development of the country. During his first administration (1849-1851) the Peruvian government entered into a contract with an English firm for the exploitation of guano, and soon great quantities were being exported annually. The nitrate beds in southern Peru also began to furnish rich annual returns, and Castilla thus had at his disposal large resources. These he used advantageously and the economic life of the nation was transformed. The debt of the country was consolidated; telegraph lines and the first railroad were constructed. Castilla gave way in 1851 to President Echenique, but discontent in the

The Administrations
of President Ramón
Castilla, 1849-1851;
1855-1862

country soon led Castilla to lead a revolt against him. From 1855 to 1862 Castilla was again president and during these years Negro slavery was abolished and the Indian

tribute discontinued. There were also changes in the constitution. In 1856 a new constitution was adopted which among other advanced features abolished ecclesiastical courts; while in 1860 the constitution was again revised. Altogether the administrations of Castilla meant much for the progress and peace of Peru.

Castilla was succeeded in the presidency by General San Román, who died soon after taking office and was succeeded by the vice-president, Juan A. Pezet. In 1865 war broke out between Peru and Spain, the pretext being the refusal of Peru to make the desired reparation to Spanish citizens who had claims against the Peruvian government. President Pezet quickly gave way to the Spanish demands, which soon caused not only indignation, but armed rebellion. The leader of this movement

The War with Spain,
1865-1866; and the
Presidencies of Pezet,
Mariano Prado

was Mariano I. Prado, who assumed the dictatorship, declared war on Spain, and made a treaty of alliance with Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Spanish naval forces attacked

Peruvian and Chilean ports, and finally after having been repulsed from Callao the Spaniards were willing to make peace.

Prado, who had become dictator during the war in place of the constitutional Vice-President Canseco, at the close of the war was compelled to give place to Canseco, who was succeeded at the completion of his term (1868) by José Balta, who, with the aged Castilla, had been responsible for restoring constitutional government.

Peru made progress under the energetic President Balta (1868-1872). Large sums of money were obtained through an agreement with a French Company, which was granted a monopoly in the exportation of guano and the floating of loans in Europe. These funds were used in the improvement of harbors and in the construction of railroads. In 1870 the

The Administration of
President José Balta,
1868-1872

railroad from Arequipa to Mollendo was completed through a contract signed by the Peruvian government with Henry Meiggs.

Later other contracts were made with Meiggs for the construction of railroads, bringing Arequipa into communication with Lake Titicaca and Cuzco. So great were these expenditures under President Balta that the country was soon on the verge of bankruptcy.

In 1872 Manuel Pardo, an enlightened statesman, became president, and by his wise administration did much for the country, though he could not save it from bankruptcy. He reformed the public service, improved educational conditions, re-established the national guard, and sought to build up a strong alliance with the Argentine and Bolivia. Altogether he

The Presidencies of
Manuel Pardo and
Mariano Prado

deserves to rank as one of the great South American leaders since independence. In 1876 Pardo gave place to Mariano Prado. In

1877, to meet the bad financial situation, 20,000,000 soles in inconvertible paper money was issued. In the administration of Prado the greatest disaster which has befallen Peru since independence occurred—the War of the Pacific.

The real cause of the war was the dispute over the rich nitrate deposits found in the desert about Antofagasta, territory then owned by Bolivia. Chilean companies had been permitted by treaty to carry on operations in this territory, but there were frequent disputes and constant friction. The immediate occa-

sion for the declaration of war on the part of Chile was a treaty between Peru and Bolivia which had been signed in 1873, by which the contracting parties mutually agreed to guarantee independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity against all foreign aggression. Chile accused the allies of intriguing against her, imposing duties on her export of nitrate, in order to benefit themselves. This situation finally led to a declaration of war by Chile against the allies on April 5, 1879.

**The Causes of the
War of the Pacific**

The actual fighting in the War of the Pacific was soon over, though actual peace did not come until 1883. Chilean soldiers very soon were in possession of the nitrate provinces of Peru,—Tarapacá, Tacna, and Arica—and when the Chilean navy succeeded in destroying the only real Peruvian warship, the Huascar, Chile gained the control of the coast. Callao and Lima were occupied by Chilean troops in January, 1881. The government of Peru was overthrown when President Prado left for Europe (December, 1879) to secure aid and Nicolas de Piérola became dictator. On the capture of Lima he fled into the interior, and for three years the capital was occupied by Chilean troops. No government could be organized that would consent to the ceding of territory to Chile until 1883, when General Iglesias was successful in forming a government favorable to the acceptance of the Chilean terms.

**The War of the
Pacific, 1879-1883**

The treaty of Ancón which was signed between Chile and Peru on October 20, 1883, was humiliating to Peru. It provided for the absolute cession by Peru of the province of Tarapacá, and the occupation for a period of ten years of the provinces of Tacna and Arica, at the end of which time their final ownership was to be determined by a vote of their inhabitants.

The Treaty of Ancón

The country retaining possession of the territories was to pay the other 10,000,000 Chilean pesos. Chile was allowed to retain certain guano islands until ten million tons of guano had been furnished, the net proceeds from the guano to be divided between the two countries.

Soon after the treaty of Ancón was ratified (May, 1884)

Préröla was overthrown by General Cáseres, who had been the commander-in-chief of the Peruvian forces during the war, and who had held against Chile to the last. Cáseres was elected president in 1886 and was succeeded in 1890 by Morales Bermúdez. Three years later Bermúdez died and again Cáseres came into power, only to be overthrown by Piéröla, who was elected president in September, 1895. Piéröla was an able statesman and a capable administrator. The work of Piéröla is thus described by a talented Peruvian: "He transformed an exhausted country into a stable republic . . . He established a gold standard as the basis of the new monetary system, promulgated a military code and an electoral law, and by means of a French mission endeavored to change an army which was the

The Presidents from
the Close of the War
of the Pacific to 1900.
The Renaissance
Under President
Piéröla, 1895-1899

docile servant of ambitious factions into a force capable of preserving domestic peace. His organizing talent, his patriotism, and his extraordinary ability surprised those who had known only the revolutionary leader."¹

Laws were passed in 1897 and 1899 providing for civil marriage and for the legalizing of marriages which had been performed by Protestant ministers in Peru.

Eduardo de Romaña peacefully succeeded to the presidency in 1899; and he in turn was succeeded by Miguel Candamo (1903). Candamo died in office in 1904 and was succeeded, by José Pardo, the son of the great Peruvian statesman Manuel Pardo. August B. Leguía became the president in 1908 and held office four years, when he was succeeded by President Guillermo Billinghurst. Due to difficulties with Congress

Peruvian Presidents
Since 1900

Billinghurst was forced to give way to José Pardo (1915) and four years later (July, 1919)

Leguía again came into power by a *coup d'état* and was confirmed by Congress for a five-year term. Under President Leguía a new constitution had been formulated. In 1924 President Leguía was re-elected for another period of five years.

Among the political problems which Peru has faced has been

¹ F. García-Calderon, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*, p. 120. Reprinted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers.

the ever-present Tacna-Arica dispute. Many attempts have been made to bring about its solution, and agents have gone back and forth between Lima and Santiago at frequent intervals and numerous proposals have been made; the United States has offered her assistance, but even this last well-meant attempt has proved so far a failure. Tacna-Arica is the Alsace-Lorraine of South America. Boundary disputes with all of her neighbors have perplexed Peruvian statesmen through the years. That with Bolivia was settled by a treaty in 1909; the same year another long-standing boundary dispute with Brazil was peaceably settled and a line was drawn between the two republics. Other disputes have been with Ecuador and Colombia. The Indians have been a constant problem facing the Peruvian government, but only in the last few years have steps been taken to better their condition.

Some of Peru's
Political Problems

BOLIVIA

The sad political history of Bolivia down to 1898 has been summed up by a native Bolivian writer in these words: "From 1825 to 1898 more than sixty revolutions broke out, . . . a series of international wars, and six presidents were assassinated: Blanco, Belzu, Cordova, Morales, Melarejo and Daza, without counting those that died in exile." This is a dreary summary with which to begin an account of the history of a nation.

Bolivia occupies the territory which in colonial times was the *Audiencia* of Charcas. The modern republic of Bolivia is the creation of Bolívar and is named in his honor. Bolívar drew up the first Bolivian constitution and was responsible for the Congress, naming General Sucre the first president. Sucre accepted the office on the condition that two thousand Colombian troops remain. Sucre succeeded in making a treaty with Peru giving Bolivia a Pacific coast line between the river Loa and Cape Sama. Sucre had hardly begun his administration, however, before conspiracies were formed against him, and open rebellion soon broke out. Peru was quite evidently responsible for the rebellion and Bolivia was invaded by Peru-

The Establishment of
the Bolivian Republic
and the Presidency
of Sucre

vian soldiers. On August 2, 1828, Sucre resigned the presidency, and General Santa Cruz, an ambitious Bolivian, became the president.

Santa Cruz had formed a great ambition to unite Peru and Bolivia into a confederation. He continued to dominate Bolivian affairs until 1839, and during this period Bolivia enjoyed a more or less stable government. He reorganized the army, and restored public credit. A new constitution was formed in 1831, which was again changed in 1834. In 1836 Santa Cruz succeeded in realizing his dream, and Peru and Bolivia were united into a confederation, and the half-breed dictator had dreams of ruling the old viceregal territories from

Andres Santa Cruz
and the Confederation
of Bolivia and Peru,
1836-1839

Lima. The government of the confederation was soon organized, for Santa Cruz was an able administrator, but it was short-lived.

Enemies arose on all sides; Rosas, of the Argentine, took up arms against it, while Chilean troops invaded southern Peru. Santa Cruz was overwhelmed at the battle of Yangay (January 20, 1839) and immediately left the country. In 1845 he left for Europe, where he died in 1865.

The history of Bolivia from the overthrow of Santa Cruz to 1898 is exceedingly difficult to relate, due to endless revolution and the rapid succession of rulers, none of them being particularly outstanding.

Two years after the overthrow of Santa Cruz, during which time General Velasco was president, General José Ballivián became the president, his predecessor having been overthrown by a revolution. Ballivián drove out the Peruvian invaders, and a new constitution was formulated (1843) which greatly increased the powers of the executive. He was interested in public works and built roads, hospitals, and other public build-

Presidents Jose
Ballivian (1841-1847);
and Manuel I. Belzu
(1847-1855)

ings. Rather than to bring on a civil war Ballivián resigned in 1847 and was succeeded by General Manuel I. Belzu. Belzu filled out his term of office in 1855 and was succeeded

by one of his disciples, General Jorge Córdova, who was soon overthrown by an uprising, headed by José María Linares, the opponent of Córdova in the election. Linares assumed the

powers of an avowed dictator in 1858, in order to bring about needed reforms. Linares was a stern and capable ruler, and these qualities soon aroused resentment which finally led to his overthrow and withdrawal from the country.

Presidents Córdova
and Linares,
1855-1861

The next president was General José M. de Achá (1861-1864), a weak ruler, who had been elected by Congress on the overthrow of Linares. A massacre of political prisoners in his administration aroused resentment in the country which led to his overthrow at the hands of one of the worst of all the Bolivian rulers, General Mariano Melgarejo (1864-1870), a brutal and ignorant soldier with no regard for the rights of the people or for constitutional government. He made not the slightest pretense at ruling

The Presidents from
1861-1876

according to the constitution. It was under this administration that Chile received the right to exploit the nitrate deposits in the desert of Atacama, a right which Chile naturally magnified, and which finally caused the War of the Pacific. None of the three presidents following Melgarejo served a full term; Augustin Morales (1870-1873) was killed in a quarrel with one of his officers; Adolfo Ballivián (1873-1874) died in office, when Tomas Frias, president of the council of state (1874-1876), assumed office, only to be harassed by constant uprisings, and was finally overthrown.

The next president of Bolivia was General Hilarión Daza, who gained office by force and whose greed and corruption in office became notorious. It was his attempts to tax nitrate exports, contrary to the contract with the Chilean Nitrate Company at Antofagasta, which was the occasion for the outbreak of the War of the Pacific. Daza's part in the war was creditable neither to himself nor to Bolivia. A small Bolivian army was led by Daza to Tacna to co-operate with Peruvian troops under General Mariano Prado. This combined force was defeated by the Chileans at Tarapacá, due largely to the cowardice of Daza. At this juncture Daza's conduct had aroused such resentment at La Paz that an insurrection was organized to overthrow him. The Bolivian army in Peru was

The Administration of
President Daza, 1876-
1880: The War of the
Pacific

placed under the command of Colonel Camacho, and General Campero, the commander of another Bolivian army, assumed the provisional presidency (January 19, 1880).

General Campero was elected president for four years in June, 1880, and the same year a new constitution was promulgated (October) creating a centralized republic. It was under the presi-

The Presidency of General Campero (1880-1884), and the Treaty of Valparaiso, April 4, 1884	dency of Campero that a treaty was finally signed between Chile and Bolivia ending the war between those two republics. By the treaty Bolivia lost her only seaport as well as territory rich in nitrates—a blow from which Bolivia has not yet recovered.
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The presidents of Bolivia since 1884 have been as follows: Gregorio Pacheco (1884-1888); Aniceto Arce (1888-1892); Mariano Baptista (1892-1896); Servero Alonso (1896-1899); José M. Pando (1899-1904); Ismael Montes (1904-1909); Elidoro

Presidents of Bolivia Since the War of the Pacific (1884-1927)	Villazón (1909-1913); Ismael Montes (second term, (1913-1917); José N. Gutiérrez Guerra (1917-1921); Bautista Saavedra (1921-1925);
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Dr. José C. Villanueva, elected but not seated (1926); Felipe Guzman (temporary president, Hernando Siles (1926-)).

Since the close of the War of the Pacific Bolivia has enjoyed fairly stable government. In 1896 President Alonso was overthrown by a revolution, brought on by an attempt to make Sucre the permanent capital. The last revolution which resulted in the overthrow of a president occurred as late as 1920, when President Gutiérrez Guerra was overthrown, due to unrest caused by negotiations over the regaining of a seaport on the Pacific. The outstanding figure in recent Bolivian history is Ismael Montes, who was twice president, 1904-1909 and 1913-1917. His administrations were notable for his encouragement of railroad building and general economic development, and he was given the title "*El Gran Presidente*." The last two decades give evidence that Bolivia is making progress in political stability.

PARAGUAY

During the latter colonial period Paraguay was a part of the viceroyalty of La Plata. When the revolutionary movement

began in Buenos Aires and independence declared (May 10, 1810) there was an attempt made to incorporate Paraguay into the new republic of Argentina. Commissioners were sent to Asunción to gain the support of Paraguay, but they met no response and finally a small army was dispatched under Belgrano to compel the Paraguayans to join the movement for independence. Belgrano, however, was badly defeated by the royal governor, Velasco, and he with his army was captured. Within a few months, however, the Paraguayans who had fought against the movement for independence, were completely won over to the cause, largely through the influence of Belgrano and the Argentine prisoners. In May, 1811, Governor Velasco was deposed and a provisional government established, and on June 11 a Paraguayan Congress declared the independence of the country.

Paraguay Gains Her
Independence, 1811

One of the leaders in the revolutionary movement was José Rodríguez de Francia, who was destined to rule Paraguay for a period of nearly thirty years. The first constitution of Paraguay was the work of Francia, and provided for two consuls, who were to hold supreme power. Congress was to meet annually, but the consuls held supreme power in their own hands. In 1814 Francia was declared by Congress to be the sole ruler for five years and two years later he was made dictator for life. Francia, during his long rule, adopted a policy of isolation for Paraguay both commercial and political, and whatever may be said in criticism of his long dictatorship, this much may be said in its favor: Paraguay enjoyed during these years peace and a large measure of prosperity. It was during these years that Paraguay developed that strong national feeling and blind patriotism which accounts for the unbelievable resistance which Paraguay made in the terrible war between Paraguay and the three allies, Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay, in 1864-1871.

The Period of Francia,
1811-1840

The next thirty years of Paraguayan history may be gathered up under the two names—Carlos Antonio López (1841-1862) and his son Francisco Solano López (1862-1871). On the death of Francia, Paraguay again adopted the consulate and Carlos

Antonio López became one of two consuls who were to serve three years. Three years later (1844) Paraguay adopted a republican form of government and López was proclaimed president for ten years. At the end of ten years (1854) López was again elected president, but Congress limited his term at his own request to three years. At the end of that time, however, he consented to re-election for another term of ten years. He died in office in 1862. During the period of the elder López the United States recognized Paraguay's independence, as did several European powers. The elder López opened up Paraguay to foreign commerce and the nation made considerable economic progress.

On the death of the elder López his son, Francisco Solano López, was elected by Congress as president for a term of ten years. The outstanding occurrence in the administration of Francisco López was the war with Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, as allies against Paraguay. The war was caused in large measure by the absurd arrogance of López, who gave the impression that he was ambitious to become the conqueror of all South America. He had the largest army in South America at his disposal and he considered Paraguay as unconquerable. In 1864 López declared war on Brazil, giving as his reason Brazil's interference in the affairs of Uruguay. He demanded that the Argentine Republic allow him to transport troops

The Dictatorship of
Francisco Solano López
and the Paraguayan
War

across the state of Corrientes, and when President Mitre refused, López declared war on the Argentine. Finally a treaty was signed between Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay

forming an alliance against Paraguay, May 1, 1865. It was thought that the war would now be of brief duration, but the resistance and courage of the Paraguayans was remarkable and the war lasted for five years, ending finally in 1870, when López was killed in battle. Every male capable of bearing arms was forced to fight, and whole regiments were formed of mere boys twelve to fifteen years old. Women were used as beasts of burden, and when worn out were left by the roadside to die. The war nearly depopulated the country, the population at the

beginning of the war being estimated at 900,000, while at the close less than one third of this number remained.

The history of Paraguay since the war is impossible to relate in brief space in any detail. The war left Paraguay prostrate with debt. For several years after the close of the war Brazilian troops in the country constituted the only government. In 1876 the troops were withdrawn and presidents and vice-presidents succeeded one another in rapid succession, but these revolutions did not seriously interfere with the increase in population and the growth of material progress. Since the presidency of Eduardo Shareer, who was the first president to complete his term of office since 1870 (1912-1916), revolution has been less frequent. One of the important events in recent Paraguayan history is the completion of the Paraguay Central Railroad in 1906 and the connecting up of the railroads of Paraguay with those of Argentina by means of a ferry service across the Paraná. In 1923 Eligio Ayala was elected president and his administration was the most successful in the history of Paraguay.

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CHAPTER XVII

ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY

THE early history of the republic of Argentina is filled with trouble and disturbances. We have already noted the steps by which the Argentine attained independence. The overthrow of the Viceroy Cisneros took place on the twenty-fifth of May, 1810—the day which is now celebrated as Argentine Independence Day, and a junta was organized to govern the country in the name of Ferdinand VII. In 1816 the Congress at Tucumán had adopted a Declaration of Independence and Don Martín Pueyrredón was chosen supreme dictator. The next ten years in Argentine history are filled with confusion. During

Early Years of
Argentine Independence,
1810-1826

these years two parties made their appearance; one favorable to strong central government, made up largely of the inhabitants of Buenos Aires and the coast district. Buenos Aires had taken the leadership in the events of 1810 and the years following, and now these same leaders naturally desired to direct the affairs of the rising nation. The other party favored a federal republic in which the provinces should have a large degree of self-government. This party was led by military leaders of the provinces who were known as *caudillos*, while their chief support was furnished by the half-breed cowboys of the pampas, who were called *gauchos*.

Out of the confusion of these years there arose a leader of outstanding ability in the person of Bernardino Rivadavia, whose first important office was that of one of the secretaries of Governor Martín Rodríguez of the province of Buenos Aires.

Bernardino Rivadavia
and His Successors,
1825-1835

Under his direction and advice numerous reforms were instituted, among the most important being the establishment of a public-school system and the founding of the University of Buenos Aires; finances were stabilized by the founding of the *Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires*; ecclesiastical courts were abolished and

monasteries secularized. In 1826 a constitution was formulated by Congress, of a centralist nature, and Rivadavia was selected to occupy the office of president. So great was the opposition from the provinces, however, Rivadavia resigned the following year, and the country rapidly drifted once more into anarchy. The federalist idea was now supreme and the provinces went their own way under the leadership of their local chieftains. Of these local leaders, or *caudillos*, the most able and conspicuous was Juan Manuel de Rosas, a rancher in the province of Buenos Aires, who in 1829 was chosen governor of that province.

One of the important happenings in the years under Rivadavia was the war between Argentine and Brazil over the control of what is now the republic of Uruguay, sometimes called the Banda Oriental (East Bank). This territory had been occupied by the Portuguese since 1817. The people, however, objected to the rule of the foreigners and in 1825 rose in revolt, and called upon the Argentine for assistance. The net outcome of the war was the defeat of the Brazilians, after which Uruguay was declared an independent republic.

War Between Argentina and Brazil Over Uruguay, 1825-1827

Gradually Rosas gathered all the power in the Province of Buenos Aires into his own hands, and in 1835 he was declared by the Legislature of his province to have the sum total of public authority. Finally twelve provinces selected the dictator national executive of the Argentine Confederation. Rosas held power from 1835 to 1852. He was a ruthless and forceful administrator, crushing all opposition with a cruelty almost past our belief. A secret organization called the *Mazorca* (Ear of Corn) made up of his followers, hunted down his enemies, and it has been estimated that more than twenty thousand persons lost their lives as a result of the activity of this organization and other agencies.

Dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas, 1835-1852

During the period of his greatest influence and power his supporters went to extravagant lengths in honoring him. He was given the title "Illustrious Restorer of the Laws," while pictures of the dictator were placed on the altars of the churches and priests admonished the people to obey him. He has been termed

"the creator of Argentine nationality," though his rule was in many respects unenlightened and reactionary. He was particularly hostile to England and France and attempted to close the navigation of the La Plata and the Paraná to foreign trade. As a result trade fell off; immigration was practically stopped, and the country suffered economically.

Such a dictator could not help but arouse the wrath of the able men of the nation. The most self-respecting fled into the neighboring republics, while an organization was formed called the *Asociación de Mayó*, made up largely of young scholars, who were bitterly opposed to the rule of the dictator. The dispute with England and France over the navigation of the Paraná led to their sending of warships to blockade the rivers, which greatly injured the prestige of the dictator. Meanwhile forces were gathering which were soon to bring about his overthrow. The principal factor in accomplishing this result was Justo José de Urquiza, governor of the province of Entre Rios, who had been one of the supporters of the dictator, but who had now become thoroughly disgusted with the methods by which Rosas was holding on to power. He now united his forces with those of Uruguay opposed to the Rosas influence, and with Brazil, and on February 3, 1852, completely defeated the army of the dictator at the battle of Caseros. After the

The Overthrow of
Rosas at the Battle of
Caseros, February 3,
1852

battle the dictator resigned his office and succeeded in escaping to England in an English war vessel, where he lived for many years in poverty. In spite of the cruelty of the Rosas régime it was not without benefit to the Argentine nation; these years saw the overthrow of the local chieftains, and the creation of a real national feeling, and in spite of reactionary policies the country had made progress.

On the overthrow of Rosas the people were heartily sick of war and military rule and were ready to accept a government which would permit industry and commerce to make headway. Urquiza now became the director of the confederation, but he displayed no desire to play the rôle of a Rosas, and he saw that there must be complete reorganization. Largely through his influence a constitutional convention was called to meet at

Santa Fé in November, 1852, and a federal constitution was there adopted, modeled closely after that of the United States. An influential member of the Convention was Juan Bautista

The Formation of the
Constitution of 1853

Alberdi, who had made a careful study of the needs of the Argentine, and might well be termed the James Madison of the conven-

tion. The first president under the new form of government was Urquiza, whose term of office was fixed by the constitution at six years.

Unfortunately, the most important of the provinces, that of Buenos Aires, refused to recognize the new constitution or the government organized under it. Urquiza chose Paraná in the province of Entre Rios as his capital, while Buenos Aires went its own way as a separate government. Differences, however, between the two governments soon developed which led to armed conflict. In 1859 Buenos Aires marched an army to attack the federal government, but was defeated by Urquiza, and the next year, 1860, the governor of Buenos Aires swore to support the federal constitution, after certain amendments had been added by a national convention at Santa Fé in September, 1860.

The Administration of
President Urquiza,
1854-1860

This agreement, however, did not end the struggle with Buenos Aires, for the next year (1861) President Derqui, who had succeeded Urquiza, was overthrown by Bartolomé Mitre, the governor of the province of Buenos Aires, and Urquiza was defeated at the battle of Pavón on September 17, 1861. This event marks a distinct epoch in the political history of the Argentine, for although relations between the provinces and Buenos Aires were to remain stormy for some time to come, yet thereafter no further attempts to divide the country into two nations were made.

In 1862 General Mitre was elected president of the united country, and for his term of six years carried on the government with moderation and success. Bartolomé Mitre belonged to one of the most distinguished of Argentine families, and one that has continued to make large contributions to the political and cultural life of the nation. In 1852 he founded the newspaper *La Nación*, which soon became and has remained the

leading journal in South America and one of the greatest of the world's newspapers. General Mitre was also a writer of distinction, producing the greatest biographies which have been written in Latin America, those of San Martín and Belgrano.

Administration of
President Bartolomé
Mitre, 1862-1868

During the administration of Mitre the Argentine was forced into a war against Paraguay by the tyrant of Paraguay, Francisco S. López, demanding the right of marching his forces across Argentine territory. López had counted upon receiving aid against Mitre from Urquiza, but in this he was disappointed, as Urquiza, although in undisputed possession of Entre Rios and not in harmony with Mitre, refused to revolt against the central government, but in many ways gave aid to the president. In spite of the war the administration of President Mitre is notable for the prosperity which prevailed, and during these years Argentina began that development which has made her in recent years the greatest exporting nation in the world, in proportion to population.

Following the successful administration of President Mitre, Domingo F. Sarmiento was elected president, at an election which is said to have been "the freest and most peaceful ever held in the republic." In many respects Sarmiento is the greatest of the Argentine presidents. Born in 1811 in western Argentina, the youngest of a very poor Creole family, his early life was a constant struggle for learning. As a young man he had become a member of the party opposed to Rosas and as a consequence was forced to flee to Chile. Here he edited a paper, founded a girls' school and served as the head of Chile's first Normal School. While in Chile he was sent by the Chilean government to study educational systems in the United States, and there became a friend and admirer of Horace Mann, and from that

The Administration of
Domingo F. Sarmiento,
1868-1874

time he became an enthusiast for popular education. Returning to the Argentine in 1851 he took part in the battle which overthrew Rosas, and thereafter he devoted his energies to the furtherance of his native country's interests. His first position in Argentina was director of the schools of Buenos Aires, where he succeeded in increasing the yearly appropriations for schools

from a paltry \$600 to \$127,000. He then became state senator and later served as governor of his native province, where he founded a university, established high schools for boys and girls, and looked closely after primary education in every section of the province. His next position was ambassador from the Argentine to the United States. While in Washington he began a review called *Ambas Americas* ("The Two Americas") for the purpose of promoting better feeling between his country and the United States. While absent in the United States he was selected as a candidate for the presidency of Argentina. Urged by his friends to return to Argentina and conduct an active campaign, he refused, and although he announced no platform and gave no pledges, but remained in Washington, yet he was elected by an almost unanimous vote.

Amid the varied activities of his busy life Sarmiento found time to produce more than fifty volumes. His most famous work is the historical novel *Facundo, or Civilization and Barbarism*, in which the author vividly pictures social and political conditions during the period of Rosas. As might be expected much of his writing was upon educational subjects. While in the United States he prepared a life of Abraham Lincoln for his own people, and he was always an admirer of the United States and her institutions.

President Sarmiento's administration was one of remarkable advance in every line. He encouraged railroad construction, and lines were built from Córdoba to Tucumán and from Concordia to Mercedes. Telegraph lines were extended and commerce with England, France, Spain, and the United States was greatly augmented. His greatest work, however, was his encouragement of popular education. Altogether his administration was marked by broadmindedness and uprightness.

The secretary of justice and education, Nicolas Avellaneda, in the administration of Sarmiento, succeeded to the presidency in 1874. In most respects he carried out the policies of his great predecessor, and educational advancement was continued throughout the republic. He also encouraged immigration, and during the years of his administration more than a quarter of a million new citizens entered the Argentine, mostly from Italy

and Spain. As the election of 1880 drew near it became evident that the old contest between Buenos Aires and the provinces

was about to be resumed. There were two candidates for the presidential office—General Julio A. Roca, who had won distinction as an Indian fighter and was the choice of the outgoing president, and Carlos Tejador, a lawyer of the city of Buenos Aires. Buenos

Aires was determined to secure the election of its candidate and military companies were formed in the city to help accomplish its purpose. In the meantime the provinces had organized the Córdoba League to resist the Buenos Aires aggression. Finally Buenos Aires decided on war, but after a number of engagements near Buenos Aires the army of the provinces under General Roca was completely victorious and Roca's election to the presidency followed.

The first act of President Roca on assuming office was to bring about the federalization of Buenos Aires. A new capital for the province of Buenos Aires was laid out at La Plata while the city of Buenos Aires and its environs became a federal district. This was a most wise step and has since proved an important factor in cementing the nation.

The administration of President Roca was a period of great economic progress unprecedented in the history of the Argentine Republic. The population greatly increased through immigration; national revenues were more than doubled; new territory was opened to settlement in both northern and southern Argentine while the increase in railroad mileage kept pace with the general advance. Although an excellent chief executive himself, President Roca was responsible for a grave political blunder in allowing the Córdoba League to force through the election of Miguel Juárez Celman, a brother-in-law, who had been governor of the province of Córdoba. Celman was corrupt and weak and allowed carpet-baggers from the provinces and corrupt poli-

ticians to fill their pockets at government expense. So scandalous was the corruption that the enraged public opinion soon manifested itself, in an organization called the *Unión Cívica*, which

Administrations of
President Nicolas
Avellaneda, 1874-1880;
and President Roca,
1880-1886; and the
Federalization of Buenos
Aires

The Administration of
President Celman and
His Forced Resignation

tried to force the resignation of the president. Finally, after armed attacks upon the government had failed, a large group of influential congressmen united in a demand that the president retire from office, a demand which Celman wisely heeded. The vice-president, Pellegrini (1890-1892), filled out the term.

For some years following the overthrow of Celman the course of Argentine politics did not flow smoothly. The radical party, which had arisen out of the stress of the Celman corruptions, gave rise to a spirit of unrest and demanded numerous reforms. In 1892 Luis Sáenz Peña became president and held office until 1895, when he was succeeded by his vice-president, José E. Uriburu. General Roca again became president in 1898 and was succeeded in 1904 by Manuel Quintana, who died a few months after his inauguration and was succeeded by Vice-President Alcorta. In 1910 Roque Sáenz Peña, the candidate of the Nationalist party, was elected, but before he had completed his term of office ill health compelled him to retire in favor of his vice-president, Victorina de La Plaza.

Presidents of
Argentina, 1892-1916;
A Period of Con-
servative Rule

A notable achievement during these years was the passage of an electoral reform law in 1912, which provided for compulsory voting on the part of qualified electors and for a protected, secret ballot.

In 1916 the Radical party triumphed in the election and one of their leaders of long standing, Hipólito Irigoyen, was chosen. Again in 1922 the Radical party triumphed in the national election, electing Marcelo T. de Alvear, a member of a prominent Argentine family, who was at the time Argentine minister to France.

Recent Presidents

Since 1890 Argentina has had two serious boundary disputes, one with Brazil and the other with Chile, but fortunately both were settled by arbitration. That with Chile was the more serious and might easily have resulted in war. The Argentine contention was that, according to the agreement signed in 1881, that boundary should run from highest peak to highest peak, while Chile contended that the line of the watershed was the correct boundary between the two republics. By 1898 both

countries were preparing for war. Finally the whole matter of the boundary was referred to arbiters, and by 1902 it was amicably settled. To commemorate this agreement the two republics, Argentina and Chile, united in the erection of the beautiful "Christ of the Andes," which stands on the boundary line, at the highest point of the famous Uspallata Pass. The boundary dispute with Brazil was settled in 1895, President Cleveland, of the United States, being the arbiter.

URUGUAY

Uruguay owes its existence as an independent republic to a long-standing dispute between Brazil and the Argentine over its possession. At the time Buenos Aires declared her independence, May 25, 1810, Uruguay was a part of the viceroyalty, and was called the *Banda Oriental*, as it was located on the east bank of the Uruguay and La Plata rivers. We have already noticed the work of José Artigas in winning Uruguayan independence, and his desire to separate Uruguay from Buenos Aires. By 1815 Artigas had gained control of Montevideo and the region surrounding, but during the next five years he found himself opposed not only by the Spaniards, but also by the forces

The Early Years of
Uruguayan Independence,
1810-1828

of Buenos Aires and Brazil, for Brazil had claimed Uruguay since early colonial days. In 1817 the country was occupied by Portuguese

troops, and until 1825 Uruguay was a province of Brazil. Meanwhile plans were being formulated in Buenos Aires by a group of Uruguayans, to redeem their country from foreign domination. In the early part of 1825 thirty-three natives of Uruguay, under the leadership of Juan Antonio Lavalleja, crossed the river from Buenos Aires to redeem Uruguay. The population flocked to his standard, many Uruguayans deserting from the Brazilian army, among them being Fructuoso Rivera, an ex-patriot chief who had been made a general in the Brazilian army. Buenos Aires was sympathetic to the cause of the Uruguayan patriots and Brazil soon declared war on the Argentine. The combined forces of Argentina and Uruguay proved too strong for Brazil and the war finally came to end by an

agreement, August, 1828, between Brazil and the Argentine by which both recognized Uruguay as an independent republic for a period of five years.

Uruguay was unfortunate in having two conspicuous leaders, Rivera and Lavalleja, who were themselves bitter enemies and whose followers soon divided the country into two contending factions. In July, 1830, the first constitution of the republic of Uruguay was formulated, largely under the influence of Lavalleja, and Rivera prepared to make war upon him. A compromise was finally reached by which Rivera became the first president, while Lavalleja was made the head of the army.

The Constitution of
1830 and the Two
Political Factions, the
Colorados and the
Blancos

Rivera in spite of frequent attempts to overthrow him, remained president until 1835 and was succeeded by Manuel Oribe, a partisan of Lavalleja. No sooner was Oribe in office than Rivera began revolts against him. At this juncture the Argentine tyrant, Rosas, took a hand in Uruguayan affairs and sent an army into Uruguay, to support the president, Oribe, hoping to unite Uruguay to the Argentine. In the battles which followed the army of the president unfurled a white flag, while the partisans of Rivera fought under a red flag, and from that time the two parties were known as the Blancos and the Colorados. The Colorados were the Radical or progressive party, while the Blancos were the Conservatives.

For a short time the Colorado, or the Rivera party, was successful, President Oribe was overthrown and Rivera elected president, but, with the assistance of Rosas, the Blancos were soon too strong for Rivera. From 1839 to the final overthrow of Rosas in 1851 the Colorados under Rivera kept up the struggle. As we remember, it was the combined forces of

The Attempts of the
Tyrant Rosas to
Dominate Uruguay,
1835-1852

General Urquiza and the Uruguayan forces which finally succeeded in overwhelming the tyrant Rosas. With the overthrow of Rosas also went the power of President Oribe, who was driven from the country. This ended the danger of Argentine domination, but unfortunately it did not end the internal strife of Uruguay, though the next ten years we comparatively peaceful, under Colorado domination.

The dominating figure during the next ten years in Uruguayan politics was Venancio Flores, leader of the Colorados, who succeeded Rivera on his death in 1853. Flores became president in 1854. He requested Brazil to intervene in his behalf and for three years Brazilian soldiers occupied Uruguay. Soon thereafter Flores was compelled to retire, though he returned as dictator in 1865 through the help of Brazil and the Argentine. Brazilian intervention in Uruguayan affairs aroused the resentment of López, the tyrant of Paraguay, and eventually brought Uruguay into the war against Paraguay, with the Argentine and Brazil. It will be useless

The Era of Venancio
Flores and the War
with Paraguay

to try to remember in order even the names of the presidents who succeeded one another in rapid succession down to 1910. War

between the Colorados and the Blancos continued. Indeed, none of the South American republics have had more internal trouble than has vexed Uruguay through most of her history as an independent republic. But in spite of her political troubles the little republic has made rather steady progress materially. Indeed, until quite recent times Uruguay deserves to be classed politically with the backward South American states, though from the standpoint of economic progress she belongs to the progressive states.

One of the recent presidents who deserves some mention is President Batle y Ordóñez, who was elected president in 1898. During his term of office agreements were reached with the opposition party providing for a general amnesty; for supervised elections by committees representing both parties, and for recognition of the government by the rebels, and with this agreement a new era seems to have begun in Uruguay. The next president was Claudio Williman, a Colorado candidate, who was inaugurated in 1907. His administration was

The Presidencies of
Batle y Ordóñez and
Claudio Williman, and
Viera, 1898-1919

marked by reform in the government; by the founding of educational institutions; by improvements in the harbor of Montevideo, and by careful financial management which

left the treasury with a surplus of nine millions of pesos. In 1911 Batle y Ordóñez became president for the second time

and the reforms begun in his first administration and under President Williman were continued. The government began to take great interest in the social and economic welfare of its citizens and advanced legislation was enacted, such as the establishment of an eight-hour day, old-age pensions, a national inheritance tax, and a law providing for the national control of telephone and telegraph lines.

In 1917 a constitutional convention met in Montevideo for the purpose of making a new constitution. In October a new constitution was adopted which went into operation on March 1, 1919. On the same day Baltasar Brum was inaugurated president. President Brum, a progressive and intelligent leader, was well suited to put into operation the advanced ideas of government set forth in the new constitution. Recently he

Presidents Baltasar
Brum, 1919-1923; Jose
Serrato, 1923-1927

has attracted considerable attention to himself by his proposal of an American League of Nations, which he made at the Santiago meeting of the Pan-American Union. On March 1, 1923, the successful candidate of the Colorado party, José Serrato, was inaugurated president for a term of four years.

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CHAPTER XVIII

BRAZIL: EMPIRE AND REPUBLIC

THE independence of Brazil was achieved October 12, 1822, when the son of the Portuguese king was proclaimed emperor as Pedro I. The new emperor and the new empire of Brazil faced serious problems from the start. The Brazilians were without experience in self-government, while the young emperor, although possessing brilliant qualities and professing liberal ideas, was at heart autocratic and arbitrary. The Brazilians were much divided from the first. There naturally early arose a republican party, as all their neighbors were setting up republics, and this movement was suppressed only with great difficulty. Fortunately for the empire, Pedro was at first very popular, and this popularity was largely responsible for the successful launching of the new government, in spite of the numerous handicaps.

There was much difficulty in procuring a constitution, and Brazil almost came to grief before this was accomplished. May 3, 1823, the constitutional convention was assembled, dominated by the Andrada brothers, whose influence in the winning of Brazil's independence we have already noticed. A constitution was drafted, but Pedro and the Andradas soon came into open conflict over it, and on November 23 the emperor banished the Andrada brothers, promising at the same time that there should be prepared a constitution more liberal than

the one he had just repudiated. The emperor, true to his promise, gave the task of making a new constitution to the Council of State,

The Constitution of
1824

over which he presided, and on March 24, 1824, the constitution was complete and the government of the empire was inaugurated under it.

As a whole the reign of Pedro I was one of disaster. Things began, however, auspiciously, as the United States recognized Brazilian independence in 1824, and the next year, largely due

to the good offices of the English foreign minister, Lord Canning, Portugal also recognized the independence of her one-time great colony. The recognition of England also came the same year. But almost immediately a disastrous war was begun with the Argentine over the possession of Uruguay.

The Recognition of
Brazilian Independence
and the War with
Argentina

For eight years (since 1817) Uruguay had been the bone of contention between Argentina and Brazil, while a growing number of Uruguayans were demanding their independence. Finally on December 1, 1825, Pedro I declared war on Argentina and Uruguay, and the war continued until May, 1827. The Brazilians were defeated on land and sea, and the emperor was now willing to sign a treaty with Argentina by which they both agreed that Uruguay should be an independent state.

The defeat of the Brazilian forces in the war was not conducive to the popularity of the emperor. It was soon discovered also that Pedro was fond of dictatorial power. The opposition, which had a majority in the Assembly from the beginning, took delight in balking the emperor, and Pedro was also soon at swords' points with his ministers, whose council he came more and more to disregard, while depending for advice upon a "kitchen cabinet." After the Argentine war the ultra-liberals obtained a majority in the Legislature, and it soon became evident that the emperor preferred the Portuguese Conservatives to Brazilian Liberals, and this led to quarrels between the two factions. The crisis was reached, when, in April, 1831, Pedro dismissed his ministers and replaced them with a group of unpopular Conservatives. Immediately there was an insistent demand for the restoration of the former ministers, and on the emperor's refusal a revolt was begun in Rio de Janeiro in which numerous imperial soldiers joined. Pedro meanwhile had been increasingly concerned about affairs in Portugal and was anxious to take a hand in protecting the rights of his daughter to the throne of Portugal, against his brother, Dom Miguel. These several factors finally led him to abdicate the throne of Brazil April 7, 1831, in favor of his little son, later known as Dom Pedro II.

The Abdication of
Pedro I, 1831

Pedro II, who now became the emperor of Brazil, was but a child five years of age, and for a period of nine years Brazil was ruled by a regency. This is perhaps the most confused period in the history of independent Brazil. During this comparatively short time there were three changes in the regency. From 1831 to 1835 a regency of three persons attempted to rule, and these years were filled with constant disturbance and insurrection, the army being particularly affected. The strong man who finally emerged out of the confusion was Father Diogo Antonio Feijó, who had been the minister of justice. The constitution was amended in 1834 by what is known as the *Acto Addicional*, which provided for a regency of one, and the establishment in the provinces of legislative assemblies. The new regent chosen was Father Feijó, who for two years struggled heroically to restore quiet and peace to the distracted country, in which he was not entirely successful. In the election of 1836 the Conservatives, who were opposed to the regent Feijó, won, and the next year Feijó surrendered his office to Araújo Lima. The new regency was no more successful than its predecessor in restoring peace to the country, and a movement was started among the Liberals to promote the immediate accession of Pedro II to the throne, although he was then but a lad of fourteen. Such was the confusion of the country that any change seemed better than existing conditions, and the Liberals had little difficulty in carrying their measure through the Parliament.

The period of the regency, though characterized by confusion and anarchy, was nevertheless a period in which numerous Brazilians of high character and ability gained valuable experience in the conduct of the affairs of the state. In a sense it was a school of politics which furnished much-needed training for Brazilian leaders.

Dom Pedro, who was now crowned emperor of Brazil amid great festivities (July 18, 1841), became one of the most enlightened sovereigns of modern times and has been called a model constitutional ruler. He was a man of attractive personality; he loved the life of a student, and was more interested

The Period of the
Regency, 1831-1840

in science and literature than in politics. He assumed few of the airs of a monarch and was always very simple and democratic. A few years after he was crowned he married the daughter of the king of the Two Sicilies, and the domestic life of the court throughout his long reign was clean and high-minded. In religion he was a nominal Catholic only, and was particularly broad-minded in all matters pertaining to religious belief.

The active reign of Pedro II lacked but one year of covering a full half century (1840-1889) and on the whole it was a period of progress and prosperity for Brazil. Politics attracted the best men in the empire and dishonesty and corruption among government officials was rare. Brazil was a constitutional monarchy; the emperor and his ministry, with a body called the council of state, exercised the executive powers; while the Parliament, consisting of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, was the legislative branch. The emperor exercised a large influence over the legislative branch of the government through his constitutional right of nominating senators; of calling and dissolving the Parliament; and of appointing and dismissing ministers. In the exercising of these powerful functions the emperor was always most conscientious, though at times he may have been despotic. The political parties of Brazil were the Liberal, the Conservative, and the Republican, the control of the ministry alternating between the Liberal and the Conservative, according to the majorities in the House of Deputies. The Republican party did not figure largely in the political life of the empire until toward the close of the reign.

During the reign of Pedro II Brazil became involved in two wars, the first with the notorious dictator Rosas of Argentina, the other with the equally notorious dictator Francisco López of Paraguay. The ambitious Rosas was determined to annex Uruguay and Paraguay to the Argentine, and to thwart this scheme Brazil united with General Urquiza against the dictator, which soon led to the complete overthrow of Rosas. (See Chapter on Argentina.) The war with Paraguay was declared in 1864, when a Brazilian river steamer on the Paraguay was

seized by Paraguayan authorities. The attempts of López to transport troops across the Argentine state of Corrientes, in spite of the refusal of the Argentine president to allow such violation of Argentine territory, led Argentina to declare war against him.

Brazilian Wars: With the Argentine, 1853; With Paraguay, 1864-1870

The aggressions of López led finally to the formation of a triple alliance against him, made up of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. The war involved Brazil in great sacrifices of life and in large expenditures. A Brazilian army of from twenty to thirty thousand was maintained, and the cost of the war was about \$250,000,000.

The outstanding achievement of the reign of Pedro II was the abolition of the slave trade, and the final abolition of slavery itself. Nowhere in South America had the institution of Negro slavery become so thoroughly embedded in the economic and social life of the people as in Brazil. Treatment of slaves was mild, however, and slaves were allowed a large degree of freedom. The

The Abolition of the Slave Trade and the Anti-Slavery Agitation

emperor was naturally favorable to any such humanitarian enterprise as the abolition of traffic in slaves, and even of the abolition of slavery itself. As early as 1831 a law had

been passed which aimed to abolish the African slave trade, but this law was largely a dead letter. In 1848 anti-slavery sentiment was greatly strengthened in Brazil, due to the bringing in of yellow fever by imported slaves, and in 1850 an act was passed providing for the abolishment of the domestic slave trade. The breaking out of the great Civil War in the United States brought home to many Brazilians the possibility of such a war being waged in Brazil over the same issue, and this hastened steps toward the abolition of slavery. As a result of this agitation a law was passed in 1871 providing for gradual emancipation. By this act all children of slave parents born after this date should be free, and provision was also made for the easy manumission of slaves and a fund provided for the emancipation of a certain number of slaves every year. The number of slaves was steadily decreasing, and it seemed probable that the institution would gradually disappear. In 1856 there were

about 2,500,000 slaves in Brazil; in 1873 the number had decreased to about 1,500,000, and finally, when emancipation came in 1887, the actual number emancipated was about 720,000.

The final abolition of slavery and the overthrow of Pedro II are inseparably connected. The emperor's eldest daughter, Princess Isabella, and heir to the throne, had married in 1864 Comte d'Eu, a member of the Orleans family. The marriage was never popular with the Brazilian people, while Princess Isabella, though sharing many of her father's liberal views, was greatly influenced by the clergy and the Catholic Church. This fact made her even less popular with the Liberal party. Meanwhile anti-slavery agitation was growing stronger, especially since the formation of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society in 1880. In 1885 a bill had been passed by the

The Abolition of
Slavery

Brazilian Parliament liberating all slaves over sixty years old. But even this bill failed to satisfy the extreme abolitionists, led by Joaquim Nabuco, whose book on abolition, published in 1883, had aroused immense popular feeling in favor of immediate and uncompensated emancipation. At the very moment when the agitation was at its height Pedro II decided to visit Europe and the United States, appointing the Princess Isabella regent during his absence. Isabella was in favor of immediate emancipation. When Parliament met in May, 1888, a bill was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by the minister of agriculture providing for immediate and uncompensated emancipation. This bill passed by substantial majorities and was immediately signed by the princess regent.

By favoring the emancipation measure the regent had alienated the only class still favorable to the empire, namely the slave owners and the large planters. They regarded the measure unnecessary, since provision had already been made for the gradual emancipation of slaves, and since the number of slaves was actually decreasing rapidly. Meanwhile the army and populace of Rio de Janeiro had become imbued with republican doctrines and the unpopularity of the princess but furthered this movement. When Pedro II returned to Brazil

in the latter part of 1888 the people received him with demonstrations of affection, and there seemed to be no indication that

The Overthrow of the
Emperor Pedro II,
November 15, 1889

his overthrow was near at hand. It was disaffection in the army led by General Benjamin Constant and General Deodoro da

Fonseca which finally precipitated the revolt. On the early morning of November 15, 1889, the palace was quietly surrounded by Brazilian soldiers, and the government buildings were occupied without opposition. The ministry resigned, while the emperor made desperate efforts to form a new ministry, but without avail. Meanwhile a provisional government was formed, under General Deodoro da Fonseca, while General Constant was made minister of war. The next day, November 16, the broken-hearted emperor and his family were placed on board ship and were sent in exile to Portugal. The republican government offered to compensate him for his loss of property held as emperor, but this he refused. His private property, however, was retained. The emperor died two years later in Paris.

The empire of Brazil had been overthrown by the army, and the control of the provisional government remained in the hands of a military autocracy. Military governors were at the heads of half the states of Brazil. The new régime, however, was accepted without disturbance. For fourteen months the provisional government carried on the affairs of the nation. On January 7, 1890, the government decreed the separation of church and state. On June 22 another decree was issued calling a Constituent Assembly to convene November 15 for the purpose of framing a constitution for the new republic. Ruy

The Provisional
Government and the
Constitution of 1891

Barbosa and other republicans had already framed a constitution for the United States of Brazil, and the members of the Constituent Assembly had little to do but accept

what was submitted to them. This they did on February 24, 1891. The constitution provided for a government much like that of the United States.

General Deodoro da Fonseca and General Floriano Peixoto were elected by the Constituent Assembly as president and vice-

president, to hold office until November 15, 1894. Unfortunately, the government fell into the hands of a gang of military adventurers and unworthy politicians who were entirely devoid of patriotism, and whose chief object seemed to be to exploit the resources of the country. As a result of such misrule discontent was widespread and revolts broke out in several of the states. This gave Fonseca an excuse to declare himself dictator. This act met even stronger resistance. The party of discontent gained support from the navy and from a portion of the army, and when the navy's guns were trained upon the capital the president resigned and was succeeded by the vice-president.

The Administration
and Downfall of
President Fonseca,
1891

This change in the presidency, however, brought little relief, for President Peixoto's policies and methods were largely those of his predecessor. Corruption in the administration was soon rampant. The friends of the president were given lucrative concessions and contracts for worthless projects, and Brazilian finance was soon strained to the breaking point. Revolt once more flared up in the provinces, while resentment in the navy at the continued misgovernment was strong. Finally, on September 6, 1893, a naval revolt under the leadership of Admiral Custodio de Mello broke out in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, and the resignation of the president was demanded.

The Administration of
President Peixoto and
the Naval Revolt of
1893

The civil war thus begun continued for a period of six months. Most of the government troops had been sent to Rio Grande do Sul, where the rebels were numerous, but President Peixoto was a soldier of experience and immediately undertook the gathering of forces for the defense of the capital. The insurgents were greatly handicapped because of the position taken by the commanders of the naval forces of Italy, Portugal, France, and the United States anchored in the harbor. They informed Admiral de Mello that they would oppose by force, if necessary, the bombardment of Rio de Janeiro. The foreign naval commanders also refused to allow a blockade of the port by the insurgents, and this interference greatly strengthened the resistance of the government. De Mello soon gave up the

hope of defeating President Peixoto at Rio de Janeiro and forcing his resignation by direct attack, and he decided to join forces with the rebels in the southern states. De Mello succeeded in reaching Santa Catharina with two vessels, where a revolutionary government was established, while the remaining insurgent naval forces in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro were left under the command of Admiral Da Gama, an ardent supporter of monarchy who had joined forces with the rebels. Meanwhile President Peixoto had gathered a navy by purchase from abroad and this fleet now bottled up Da Gama in the harbor. Assistance to Da Gama failed to come from the south, as had been planned, due to dissensions between the leaders there, and on March 13, 1894, Da Gama fled to the Portuguese cruisers in the harbor. The granting of asylum to the insurgents greatly angered President Peixoto, who severed diplomatic relations with Portugal because of it, but later cruelties, visited upon the captured insurgents, fully justified the Portuguese commander in his action. Soon after this the rebellion completely collapsed. De Mello fled to Buenos Aires, where he surrendered his ships to the Argentine government. Punishment of the greatest cruelty was meted out to the insurgents, and some of them were executed without the formality of a trial.

In spite of predictions to the contrary, on November 15, 1894, President Peixoto retired to private life and was succeeded by Dr. Prudente de Moraes Barros, the first in a series of civilian presidents. Although President Peixoto has been severely criticized for his ruthless and cruel overthrow of the revolt, yet it can hardly be disputed that he rendered Brazil a great and lasting service. The overthrow of the government would have meant anarchy, continued revolution, and militaristic control. It is undoubtedly true that the peaceful development of Brazil for the next thirty years under civilian presidents would have been impossible without Peixoto.

For the next four years, under the presidency of Dr. Moraes, Brazil passed through a period of gradual settling down. The new president was a lawyer and opposed to the prætorian methods which had characterized the government since the

overthrow of the empire. Ruy Barbosa, the great Brazilian editor and republican, who had been driven into exile during the dictatorship of Fonseca, returned to Brazil, and continued his promotion of democratic ideals. There were, however, two serious problems facing the administration: one was an outbreak in the interior of the state of Bahia, led by a religious fanatic (1896-1897) which required a large federal force to subdue. The other and more serious problem was the condition of the national finances. During the latter years of this administration Brazil was practically bankrupt, due to the extravagance, the corruption, and the revolts with which the government was compelled to cope, since the overthrow of the empire.

The next president, Dr. Manoel de Campos Salles, was elected on a platform favoring larger state autonomy and the division of the government into executive, legislative, and judicial departments, as opposed to the parliamentary plan. After his election Campos Salles began the serious study of the financial situation and with the full consent of President Moraes, visited Europe in the hope of finding a way to save Brazil from financial calamity. This he succeeded in doing, through the help of the international bankers, the Rothschilds. A loan of 10,000,000 pounds sterling was made with the understanding that no other debt was to be incurred until 1901 and that the customs duties of the city of Rio de Janeiro should be pledged. The various agreements which were made were fully carried out during the administration of President Campos Salles, who inaugurated a sounder financial system for the republic. The administration of Dr. Campos Salles is also particularly notable for the adjustments made with France and Great Britain over the Guiana boundaries, and also for the friendly negotiations with neighboring South American states.

The Administration of
President Moraes,
1894-1898

The Administration of
President Campos
Salles, 1898-1902

It is an interesting fact that the first three civilian presidents, Moraes Barros, Campos Salles and Rodrigues Alves, were all from the progressive and wealthy state of São Paulo. The third of the Paulista presidents, Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906),

was in many ways the most distinguished and successful of the three. His administration carried forward the boundary negotiations under the able direction of Baron Rio Branco, the foreign minister. One of the chief diplomatic triumphs of Rio Branco was the settlement of the dispute between Bolivia and Brazil over the region known as Acre, territory rich in wild rubber. This dispute for a time threatened to bring on war between the two republics, but in the treaty of Petropolis, signed in 1903, Brazil agreed to pay to Bolivia 2,000,000 pounds

The Administration of
President Rodrigues
Alves, 1902-1906

and to build a railroad about the falls on the Madeira River, so as to open the vast Bolivian territory to the outside world. In return

Brazil was to have the territory of Acre. The administration was also notable for internal and financial development and progress.

The work begun in these years toward beautifying Rio de Janeiro and making it a healthy city is most significant and praiseworthy. No city of the world has a more spectacular site than has Rio de Janeiro, but until the beginning of the present century its streets were narrow and crooked and periodically it was visited by scourges of yellow fever. Under President Alves a transformation of the city was begun. Beautiful *avenidas* were constructed, one, the *Avenida Beira Mar*, stretching for miles along the beautiful harbor. A vast stone quay

The Transformation of
Rio de Janeiro

with tremendous warehouses was built, and artistic government buildings soon bordered the new *avenidas*. Of even greater importance

than beautifying the city was the work of the distinguished physician, Dr. Oswaldo Cruz, who headed a successful campaign against disease-carrying mosquitos, and since that time Rio de Janeiro has become one of the most healthful of tropical cities.

In the election of 1906 Dr. Affonso Penna, three times governor of the state of Minas-Geraes, was elected president,

President Affonso
Penna, 1906-1909

his choice being due to the combination of the other states against São Paulo. The outstanding accomplishment of Doctor Penna's

administration was the passage of a law stabilizing the currency, known as the *Caixa de Conversão*. This measure provided for

a government bank with power to issue paper money backed by deposits of gold. President Penna died before his term of office was completed (1909) and was succeeded by the vice-president, Nilo Peçanha.

The presidential campaign of 1910 is perhaps the most interesting in the history of the republic, due largely to the fact that the candidate of the Liberal party was Ruy Barbosa, the most distinguished publicist of Brazil. He was opposed by Hermes da Fonseca, the nephew of President Deodoro da Fonseca, who had been forced to resign in 1891. Ruy Barbosa made a vigorous campaign, traveling and speaking extensively. He advocated less interference in both state and federal governments on the part of the military, and a closer adhesion to the constitution. It has been pointed out that Ruy Barbosa's program was negative rather than positive, and that he failed to construct a positive national program. This may have been the reason for his defeat.

The next four years in Brazilian history were filled with civil disturbances, mutiny in the navy and marine corps, and increasing financial troubles. In November, 1910, practically all the navy joined in a demand for better conditions for the sailors and began the bombardment of Rio de Janeiro. Congress granted their demands and passed a general amnesty act. In the same month a contingent of the marine corps, stationed on an island in the harbor of the capital, mutinied, and this was subdued only after considerable bloodshed. Financial stringency was particularly evident in 1912 and 1913, due to extravagance in administration and falling prices in the two great Brazilian commodities, rubber and coffee. The Liberal party began its campaign in July, 1913, when it again nominated Ruy Barbosa for the presidency and Senator Alfredo Ellis,¹ of São Paulo, as the vice-president. Due to the serious financial situation facing Brazil, which was greatly complicated by the outbreak of the World War, the Liberal candidates magnani-

The Administration of
Hermes da Fonseca
and the Campaign of
1914

¹ Alfredo Ellis was a senator from São Paulo; a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and an expert on coffee.

mously withdrew, at the same time urging the election of a candidate representing the whole nation rather than that of a faction. The election resulted in the choice of Dr. Wenceslau Braz, the vice-president in the preceding administration.

The new administration began just as the Great World War was beginning, and Brazil soon began to profit by the greatly increased demands for Brazilian products, especially on the part of the United States. So favorable were financial conditions as a result of the World War that in 1915 a small surplus was shown in the budget, whereas in 1913 there had been a deficit of 1,715,000 pounds. The next year financial conditions were

even better. Internal conditions were generally tranquil while an outstanding event in foreign relations was the A. B. C. Entente signed in 1916. By this agreement Brazil, Argentina, and Chile agreed to submit their differences to arbitration, and to avoid hostilities until the appointed committee gave its decision. The creditable part taken by Brazil in the World War will be discussed in a later chapter.

In 1910 ex-President Rodrigues Alves was elected president without opposition, though unfortunately he was unable to as-

sume office due to his severe illness. In January, 1919, at a special election, Dr. Epitacio da Silva Pessao, at the time absent in Paris as head of the Brazilian delegation to the peace conference, was elected president over Bar-

bosa. Conditions during this administration proved most trying, due to the downward tendency in trade and increasing financial difficulties. President Pessao's administration ended in a welter of criticism due to the general financial depression.

The presidency of Arturo Bernardes (1922-1926) was particularly trying, due to the continued financial depression which held the country in its grip throughout these years. Serious revolts in various parts of the republic filled the year 1924 with alarm. The most serious of these uprisings was in the state of São Paulo, but there were uprisings in Manaos, Amazonas, Pará, and Bahia. By the beginning of 1925, however, federal authorities were everywhere triumphant, and President Ber-

President Wenceslau
Braz, 1914-1918. Bra-
zil's War President

The Last Three Ad-
ministrations: Epitacio
Pessao, 1919-1922;
Arturo Bernardes,
1922-1926; Wash-
ington Luis, 1926-

nardes was able to devote the remaining months of his administration to the carrying out of a plan of financial reform suggested by British financial experts, who had been invited to investigate the report on Brazilian finances.

Two events, one of considerable interest to Brazilians in recent years, was the repeal September 3, 1920, of the Act of Banishment of the Imperial Brazilian family which had been passed in 1889, and the bringing to Brazil of the remains of Pedro II and the Empress, in January, 1921. The second event of interest was the celebration in 1922 of the centennial of the independence of Brazil. A Centenary exposition was planned and successfully carried out in spite of the unfavorable condition of the nation's finances. At the exposition the first South American Olympic Games were held in Rio de Janeiro in honor of the occasion.

In 1926 Señor Washington Luiz was elected president, who has followed the policy of financial retrenchment begun by President Bernardes.

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CHAPTER XIX

CHILE

CHILEANS consider Bernardo O'Higgins as the father of their country. On the overthrow of Spanish power in 1818 O'Higgins became the head of the independent government with the title "director-general," and for a period of five years he put forth his best efforts to establish a stable government for his country. His countrymen, however, were not ready for self-government, a fact which O'Higgins recognized, and because of this his conduct of affairs was quite often autocratic,

Bernardo O'Higgins,
Director-General of
Chile, 1818-1823

and as a consequence much opposition to his rule was soon aroused. During this period two constitutions were adopted. The first was

that of 1818, which placed practically dictatorial power in the hands of O'Higgins. The constitution of 1822 was somewhat more democratic, dividing the government into three distinct departments, though provision was made that O'Higgins might remain dictator for ten years longer. An insurrection, however, in southern Chile, which broke out in January, 1823, demanded his resignation, and to this demand O'Higgins finally bowed, turning over his authority to a provisional government headed by the leader of the revolt, General Ramón Freire.

O'Higgins had ruled the country firmly and well. He was particularly interested in the advancement of education, realizing that citizens of a republic must be intelligent. He reopened the now famous *Instituto Nacional*, in Santiago, an institution which has maintained a remarkable record for more than a hundred years. He also was instrumental in founding the Public Library, in establishing the police system of Santiago,

The Work of
Bernardo O'Higgins

in abolishing all titles of nobility, and in promoting other needed reforms. His foreign

policy was both wise and successful. Treaties were negotiated with Peru and Colombia and a loan of a million pounds was negotiated with London bankers.

The history of Chile for the next seven years is well characterized as a period of disorder. From 1823 to 1830 there were no less than ten governments, with three different constitutions. Following O'Higgins there were four governors in quick succession; between the years 1827 and 1829 there were five revolutions. The country was now in a chaotic condition: "vandalism in the country, commerce paralyzed, industry at standstill, finance in disorder, credit vanquished, and politics revolutionary" (Calderón, *Latin America*, p. 164). Out of this pitiful welter there finally emerged two strong men of the Conservative party, General Joaquín Prieto and Diego Portales, and under their skillful leadership Chile soon evolved a strong and successful government.

The Period of
Disorder, 1823-1830

Diego Portales was first of all a successful and shrewd business man who looked at his country primarily from the standpoint of her economic necessities. He knew that there could be no prosperity without stable government, and this he set about to provide. In 1831 General Prieto was elected president by the Conservatives, though Portales held several portfolios in the Cabinet and was largely in control of affairs. Through his influence a constitutional convention was assembled in October, 1831, and in May, 1833, a new constitution was promulgated which remains to this day with some modifications the basis for the Chilean government. The new constitution gave the president almost dictatorial powers, and the government was highly centralized. The control of affairs was largely in the hands of the large landed proprietors, who, of course, conducted the government in their own interest, but they also secured peace, and Chile was given the opportunity to develop, which probably could not have been secured otherwise.

The Constitution of
1833

For the next thirty years Chile was ruled by the Conservatives under three presidents, General Prieto, 1831-1841; Manuel Bulnes, 1841-1851; and Manuel Montt, 1851-1861. During this comparatively long period the peace of the country was threatened three times by Liberal risings—in 1835, in 1851, and in 1859. But as a whole these were years of general prog-

ress. Steam navigation on the Pacific, inaugurated in 1840, was of particular benefit to Chile because of her long sea coast.

The Period of Con-
servative Rule,
1831-1861

In a war with Peru and Bolivia which broke out in 1836, Chile was victorious, making her the strongest power on the Pacific coast of South America. The hero of this war was General Manuel Bulnes, who in 1841 was chosen president. During these years a new Liberal party was coming into existence made up of young men imbued with the spirit of the European revolutionists of 1848. Though growing rapidly in strength and influence, this new party was not able to defeat the Conservatives in the election of 1851, whose candidate was Manuel Montt.

Presidents Bulnes' and Montt's administrations are notable for the great economic and educational advance which they furthered. During this period Chile inaugurated the educational policy which soon placed her in the lead among South American states. A department of education was established; a normal school for the training of teachers was opened in Santiago under the direction of the exiled Argentinian Sarmiento, while in 1843 the University of Chile was opened under the Rectorship of the learned Chilean Andrés Bello. Libraries were opened, and also schools of art and music. Indeed, a cultural and educational renaissance was in progress during these years in Chile. While this enlightened program

Educational and
Economic Advance in
Chile, 1841-1861

was being carried out, attention was likewise given to matters of finance. The foreign debt was consolidated, banks were established, and custom house administration reformed while treaties of commerce were negotiated with several European powers. Coal mines were opened and telegraph lines and railroads built. The territory to the Straits of Magellan was occupied and German immigrants began to colonize the southern section of the country. All this had been accomplished under a very despotic and harsh government, republican in name, though far from republican in spirit. And yet it may be said that Chile needed just that type of government at this period in her independent history in order to insure peace for her proper development,

The next thirty years in the history of Chile (1861-1891) may be characterized as the period of Liberal control. During this period there were five presidents; José Joaquín Pérez (1861-1871); Federico Errázuriz (1871-1876); Aníbal Pinto (1876-1881); Domingo Santa María (1881-1886); and José Manuel

**The Period of Liberal
Control and Reform,
1861-1891**

Balmaceda (1886-1891). This period may likewise be characterized as one of reform.

Among these reforms was one forbidding the re-election of the president for a second term and a beginning was made in taking from the church some of the privileges which it had enjoyed since the colonial period. The clergy were now made amenable to the regular courts, while cemeteries were opened to non-Catholics, and laws were passed providing for civil marriage and registration of births and deaths. The attempt, at this time, however, to completely separate the church and state was defeated.

The outstanding happenings during this period of Chilean history were the two wars; the War of the Pacific (1879-1882) and the Civil War of 1891. We have already outlined the principal events in the War of the Pacific from the Peruvian angle, and it will not be necessary to again recount them. Chile

**Chile's Great Gains in
the War of the Pacific**

came out of the war with greatly increased territory, having secured outright the provinces of Atacama from Bolivia and Tarapacá from Peru, while she controlled the provinces of Tacna and Arica. Atacama and Tarapacá are particularly rich in mineral resources and their possession added greatly to the potential wealth of Chile.

The Chilean Civil War of 1891 grew out of a political dispute between President Balmaceda and the Congress. Balmaceda's administration, coming as it did immediately following the acquisition of the rich Bolivian and Peruvian provinces, it was but natural that he should have an ambition to inaugurate a great building program for the nation. And this he proceeded to do. Revenues were now more abundant than ever before and there was every temptation to extravagance and corruption. It soon became evident that the contracts for public works were being let to favorites and not on merit, and that fraud

and dishonesty were rampant. Under such conditions the president began to lose the confidence of congressmen who had formerly supported him. The final test came when Balmaceda refused to dismiss certain ministers who were not supported by the majority of the Congress. This was not a constitutional provision, but gradually this custom had grown up, which Balmaceda, however, now refused to recognize. Congress now adjourned without passing the annual budget. Balmaceda instead of calling a special session of Congress, decreed that the budget of 1890 would be taken as that for 1891. It was this arbitrary action which precipitated the Civil War which now began.

With the opening of the conflict the entire Chilean navy at once took the side of the opponents of the president. The landed aristocracy and the church also lined up with the president's enemies and the struggle which ensued proved to be both severe and bloody. The war began on January 16 and the last battle was fought on August 28. The Congressional party established their *junta* at Iquique, where an army was created. The command of the sea gave the insurgents the advantage, for they could land their troops under the protection of the guns

The Chilean Civil
War of 1891

of the fleet. The decisive engagements were fought in and around Valparaiso, resulting in the overwhelming defeat of *Gobernistas* at La Placilla August 28. The government army was practically annihilated, with nearly 2,500 casualties, while the Congressional army lost 1,800 men. Valparaiso and Santiago were now occupied by the insurgents. Balmaceda, overwhelmed by the shame of his defeat and in order to prevent prosecution at the hands of his political enemies, committed suicide, September 19, the very day his term of office ended. The war had cost ten thousand lives and 10,000,000 pounds.

The defeat of President Balmaceda had an important effect upon the government of Chile, for it meant that the President's Cabinet must now be supported by a majority in Congress. From now on a mild form of parliamentary government was to be in vogue. The overthrow of Balmaceda also meant that there was to be freedom from executive interference in

elections, and in this same year a bill was passed giving to municipalities the power to supervise elections, both local and national.

The outstanding leader of the forces opposed to Balmaceda was Jorje Montt, who was the commander of the fleet and the president of the revolutionary *junta*. With the close of the war an election was called and the choice naturally fell upon Admiral Montt, and he was elected in a free election by an almost unanimous vote. Coming to office at such a time, President Montt faced two serious problems; the first was the question of how to deal with the supporters of President Balmaceda, for party spirit still ran high; the second was the matter of finance. The president soon solved the first of these questions by granting amnesty to all the officers of the Balmaceda régime. The question of finance, however, was much more difficult, and was

The Administration of
President Jorje Montt,
1891-1896

not so easily solved. The great building program begun by President Balmaceda was curtailed, and a reform of the currency was undertaken. There was a large amount of inconvertible paper money in circulation, and in 1895 a bill was passed providing for the redemption of paper money in gold, thus putting the nation on a gold basis. This was not accomplished without considerable opposition from the large debtor class.

The next president of Chile was Federico Errázuriz, a son of one of Chile's greatest rulers. Perhaps none of the Latin American nations have been controlled by so small a group as has Chile; indeed, it has been stated that Chile has been ruled by about one hundred families since her independence. During the years (1896-1901) of this administration, the problems were largely those pertaining to Chile's relations with her neighbors. The boundary between Chile and Argentina was in dispute, and in 1896 an agreement had been reached agreeing to submit the differences to the arbitration of Great Britain. The

President Federico
Errázuriz and Inter-
national Problems

question of the *plebiscite* in Tacna and Arica came up at this time also, while Bolivia was demanding a seaport on the Pacific, Chile having previously agreed to give Bolivia an outlet on the Pacific. These disputes caused considerable enmity against Chile on

the part of the surrounding republics and there were even rumors of founding an anti-Chilean confederation.

The presidents of Chile from 1901 to the outbreak of the World War were German Riesco (1901-1906); Pedro Montt (1906-1911); and Ramón Barros Luco (1911-1915). The personality of the president, however, during these years was of slight importance, since the government was largely in the hands of the Congress. One of the characteristics of Chilean politics during this period was the rapid changes in the Cabinets and the impossibility of maintaining continuity of policy. Among outstanding happenings during these years was the settlement of the long-standing boundary dispute between Chile and Argentina, November 20, 1902, the two nations also agreeing to settle any future matter in dispute by arbitration. A treaty was also signed with Bolivia, October 17, 1905, by which Bolivia agreed to give up all claim to a Pacific seaport, provided Chile build, at her own expense, a railroad from La Paz to the port of Arica, allowing her free transit across Chilean territory. Besides this a cash indemnity of 300,000 pounds was also paid. The settlement of these long-standing disputes was of great benefit to all the nations concerned, and contributed considerably to their economic progress.

Chile's president during much of the World War was Juan Luis Sanfuentes (1915-1920). Due to several considerations, which will be discussed in a later chapter, Chile took a neutral position during the Great War. President Sanfuentes was elected by the more conservative groups as opposed to the Radicals, Liberals, and Democrats. Cabinet instability continued, a characteristic of Chilean political history. Due to the greatly increased demands of the Allies for nitrates and other materials used in the manufacture of munitions, Chile experienced a wave of prosperity which lasted from 1916 through 1918. Increased wages and better laboring conditions generally led to a growing class consciousness among the laborers and a demand for better conditions of life. This situation also had a political significance. The laborers began

Chile from 1901 to
1915

Chile During the
World War. Presi-
dent Juan Luis
Sanfuentes

to demand a larger influence in the politics of the nation. This type of agitation led up to the election of 1920 and marks a turning point in the history of Chilean politics.]

The candidates in 1920 were Don Luis Barros Borgoño and Arturo Alessandri. Barros Borgono represented the Conservative elements in the nation, while Alessandri the Liberals Radicals, and Democrats. The campaign was intense and exciting, and so close was the result that the election of Alessandri was finally declared by a majority of one electoral vote. Alessandri, during the campaign, had made numerous promises of reform, but on taking office party alignments in Congress were such as to make it impossible to form a Cabinet which would receive the consistent support of a majority. Thus it was impossible to carry any of the reform measures promised. Some of the president's friends began to fall away. The waning of prosperity, increased unemployment, and the high cost of

The Administration of
President Alessandri
to His Overthrow

living caused a growing discontent. Realizing the impossibility of such a situation, President Alessandri offered his resignation in November, 1921, but was persuaded to recall it, and remained in office though his hands were tied, even in the matter of carrying on the routine of government. The Pan-American Congress held in Santiago in April and May, 1923, diverted attention for the time from the critical governmental situation. The crisis finally came in September, 1924. In that month a *junta* was formed, backed by the army and navy, and demanded the passage of certain legislation. The ministry resigned, and on September 8 President Alessandri informed the public of the situation and offered his resignation. This, however, Congress refused to accept, but granted him a six months' leave of absence, and on September 10 Alessandri departed for Buenos Aires and Europe under the escort of the United States ambassadors of Chile and the Argentine.

The government of Chile was carried on by the revolutionary *junta* (Junta de Gobierno) from November 12, 1924, to January 23, 1925. Numerous reforms were instituted, the *junta* exerting its influence in a great variety of ways. Finally, without a note of warning, on January 23, 1925, the provisional government was

overthrown and a new *junta* established. This *coup d'état* was accomplished by a group, having the support of all parties, who favored the restoration of constitutional government. No sooner had they accomplished their purpose than an invitation was sent to President Alessandri, then in Italy, urging his return. Alessandri agreed to return on certain conditions, and on March

The Return of
President Alessandri
and the Constitutional
Reforms

20, amidst the rejoicings of officials and people, he resumed his office. Alessandri now demanded a revision of the constitution of 1833, and on August 31 the people ratified the proposed changes. Among the important changes were the separation of church and state, responsibility of ministers to the president and not to Congress, the creation of a provincial assembly to control the finances of municipalities, and the requirement that the budget must be presented to Congress four months before it was to be put in force, and if it had not been passed by Congress at the end of that period, it is to become law automatically.

President Alessandri, however, was destined not to finish his term of office. Throughout his administration he was bitterly opposed by the great families which had ruled Chile for so long. In fact, Alessandri was the first president of Chile from outside that charmed circle. As the election of 1925 approached, a controversy arose between Alessandri and members of his Cabinet over presidential candidates, and on October 16 Alessandri again resigned, the vice-president, Barros Borgoño, assuming office in his stead. The election took place October 24 without disorder under the new constitution, and resulted in the choice of Emiliano Figueroa, the candidate of the more conservative groups.

An event of much importance during 1925-1926 was the attempt to settle the long-standing Tacna-Arica dispute with the help of the United States. In 1922, at the suggestion of the United States, an agreement was reached between Chile and Peru to arbitrate the Tacna-Arica affair. It was left to the United States to determine whether the plebiscite, provided for in the treaty of Ancón, should be held. In March, 1925, the United States decided in favor of the plebiscite. A com-

mission consisting of three members, one from the United States and one each from Peru and Chile, was to supervise the election, and other matters to be adjusted. Peru now raised objections, and among other things requested that American troops replace the Chilean military and civil officials in the disputed provinces. She claimed a fair plebiscite was impossible as long as the provinces were under Chilean laws and authority. This demand, however, the arbitrator felt could not be granted. In December, 1925, General Pershing, the United States arbitrator, resigned, and was succeeded in January, 1926, by General William Lassiter. Finally after the dates for holding the plebiscite had been changed several times, Peru, in March, 1926, demanded an indefinite postponement, on the ground that Peruvians could not be sufficiently protected. On June 14, 1926, General Lassiter recommended the abandonment of the plebiscite, on the ground that Chilean methods made a fair plebiscite impossible. The United States then made several other proposals to settle the dispute without a plebiscite, and here the question rests. The unfortunate outcome of this attempt would seem to prove that the question cannot be settled by a plebiscite.

The Attempt to Settle
the Tacna-Arica
Dispute in 1925-1926

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CHAPTER XX

THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO

THE history of the republic of Mexico from her independence to 1911 may be conveniently gathered under three names—Santa Anna, Juárez, and Díaz. For thirty years after independence the most important personage in Mexican history was Santa Anna; following Santa Anna came Juárez, who was the dominant influence in Mexico from 1855 to his death in 1872; and he in turn was followed by Díaz, who remained at the head of the Mexican republic until his overthrow in 1911. From independence in 1821 to the second election of Díaz to the presidency

Santa Anna, Juárez
and Díaz, 1824-1911

in 1884 Mexico was in a state of continuous warfare. During this long period Mexico had fifty-seven presidents, and of this number only

three filled out their term of office. At first glance these never-ending conflicts seem to be little more than the struggle of rival generals for control, but on closer examination it will appear that the underlying cause was a struggle between the privileged classes and the great mass of the population. The large majority of the people were Indians and Mestizos, but little removed from slavery. The landowning class were without experience in self-government and they were divided into factions known as Centralists and Federalists, the former identical with the army and the church, while the latter represented the desire for republican and local self-government. The church was the largest single landowner in the country and in order to protect its privileges its officials felt compelled to enter politics.

On the overthrow of the empire the constituent Congress drew up (October 4, 1824) a constitution for the United States of Mexico, closely resembling that of the United States. It, however, gave the Roman Catholic Church special recognition, declared it the only religion of the nation, and allowed the clergy to retain their special courts. The first three presidents of

Mexico were General Guadeloupe Victoria (1824-1828); General Vicente Guerrero (1828-1829); Anastasio Bustamante (1829-1833). Their administrations, however, are of slight importance for the understanding of these years, for the dominant figure was Santa Anna. Antonio López de Santa Anna was a native

The First Three Presidencies and Antonio López de Santa Anna

of the state of Jalapa and had been one of the officers under Iturbide in the struggle for independence. The best thing that can be said about Santa Anna was that he possessed energy; his chief desire seemed to be to dominate Mexican politics. He has been characterized as a "bold, cunning, hungry, sharp adventurer, who knew what he wanted and got it" (Justin H. Smith, *The War With Mexico*, Vol. I, p. 50).

Up until 1835 Santa Anna moved more or less cautiously, acting through others, but in this year he evidently felt himself strong enough to assume complete control of Mexican affairs. He had been elected president in 1833 by the Liberal party, but for two years he allowed the vice-president to assume the presidential authority while he remained in the background. The occasion for his assumption of power in 1835 was the promulgation of certain religious reforms which aroused the ire of the conservatives. Santa Anna now identified himself with the Conservatives; the constitution of 1824 was overthrown and that of 1836 promulgated. The constitution of 1836 provided for a centralized republic and the autonomy of the states was destroyed. The country was now divided into departments

The First Presidency of Santa Anna and the Revolt of Texas

with governors appointed by the chief executive. This change in the constitution was one of the reasons for the revolt of the Texans, who declared their independence on March 2, 1836. Texas had been settled largely by people from the United States in consequence of land grants which had been made to Moses Austin in 1820 by the Spanish authorities. The first settlers had been led to the Brazos River by Stephen F. Austin, who had taken over the contract on the death of his father. Other settlers had also come in, mostly from the slave-holding states, bringing their slaves with them, although there were laws against slavery in Mexico. The destroying of their local

autonomy by the constitution of 1836, and the laws against slavery were the chief causes for the outbreak of the Texans, which began in the fall of 1835. Santa Anna was the commander of the Mexican forces, and was guilty of the most barbarous cruelties, slaughtering prisoners at the capture of the Alamo in March 1836, and a few weeks later at Goliad. Sam Houston commanded the Texans, and at San Jacinto, April 21, 1836, completely defeated Santa Anna, where nearly all the Mexican army was either killed, wounded or captured. Santa Anna himself was captured the next day. While a prisoner he was induced to sign a treaty which recognized the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas. When finally released, however, in 1837, Santa Anna promptly repudiated the treaty.

After some ups and downs Santa Anna returned to power in 1841, and from that year to 1844 he was practically dictator. In December, 1844, he was overthrown by a popular revolution led by General Paredes, who after a brief period was elected president while Santa Anna was forced into exile. It was in this administration that war broke out between the United States and Mexico. On March 1, 1845, the United States annexed Texas by joint resolution of the houses of Congress. By this action the United States acquired the Texas boundary dispute. On the annexation the Mexican minister withdrew from Washington and the attempts made to settle the disputed boundary and American claims against Mexico proved futile.

The Causes of the War
Between Mexico and
the United States

Mexico had steadfastly refused to recognize the independence of Texas or the right of the United States to annex that territory. Recent

investigations have demolished the old theory that the Mexican War was brought¹ on by the slave power in the South or that it was waged for the purpose of extending slave territory. Rather the war was the result of the impossibility of coming to any agreement with the Mexican government on disputed questions and the western movement of population in the United States.

The general course and outcome of the war is soon told. Mexican affairs were in confusion. The president was suspected

¹ Justin H. Smith, *The War With Mexico*, 2 vols. New York, 1919. G. L. Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, 2 vols. New York, 1913.

of intriguing to overthrow the republic and was compelled to give way to the vice-president, and he in turn was forced out of office by the return of Santa Anna from exile, who assumed the presidency and the conduct of the war in August, 1846. Santa Anna was allowed to land at Vera Cruz by the American

The War Between
Mexico and the
United States

squadron, probably thinking that his presence in Mexico would divide the Mexicans. In the meantime President Polk had ordered General

Taylor down to the Rio Grande, where open hostilities soon resulted. After a series of battles in the northern part of Mexico in the autumn of 1848, in which the Americans were always victorious, the Washington government decided to send an expedition from Vera Cruz for the capture of the Mexican capital. General Winfield Scott, the commander of the expedition, captured Vera Cruz on March 29, 1847, and, proceeding toward Mexico City, fought the battle of Cerro Gordo on April 17 and 18. Two more battles were fought in September near the capital, and the Americans occupied the city on September 14, 1847. Another expedition under General Kearney in 1846 had invaded Upper California, while a United States naval force occupied Monterey, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. These victories on the part of the United States led to the overthrow of Santa Anna and a new government was now formed under General Herrera. Treaty negotiations

The Treaty of
Guadeloupe Hidalgo,
February 2, 1848

were begun, finally leading to the treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo, signed February 2, 1848.

The treaty provided for the ceding to the United States of New Mexico and Upper California, while in return the United States agreed to satisfy the claims of her citizens against Mexico and to pay the sum of \$15,000,000.

Fortunately for Mexico, President Herrera was an able statesman and a true patriot, and was the first president of that distracted republic who completed his legal term of office and transferred it peacefully to his successor. The financial condition of the country was desperate and attempts were made to restore public credit. Much-needed reforms were promoted, but things went from bad to worse in spite of the best efforts of the government. Smuggling was commonly carried on and to

add to the confusion, Indian revolts broke out in Yucatan. President Herrera was succeeded by Mariano Arista in 1851. Arista attempted to follow the policy of economy begun by Herrera, but his uncertain course in politics soon led to revolts. In 1853 Santa Anna came back to power and was elected presi-

The Presidencies of
Herrera (1848-1851);
and Arista (1851-1853);
and the Last Dictator-
ship of Santa Anna
(1853-1855)

dent. Immediately he began to exercise dictatorial powers, suppressing the Legisla-
tures of the departments, establishing secret
police, and assumed for himself the title of
"Serene Highness." This was too much for

even the long-suffering Mexicans, and when rumors became current that the dictator aimed at establishing a monarchy a revolt was begun (March 1, 1854). Colonel Villareal, the leader of the movement against Santa Anna, issued a proclamation at Ayutla March 1, 1854, calling for the withdrawal of Santa Anna, the establishment of a provisional government, and the drawing up of a new constitution. After a futile attempt to overcome the movement against him Santa Anna left the country in August, 1855.

Among the leaders in this movement were General Juan Álvarez, General Ignacio Comonfort, Benito Juárez and Porfirio Díaz, the last two together destined to dominate Mexican affairs for more than a half century. The overthrow of Santa Anna marked the triumph of the Liberals, and a whole series of reforms was soon under way. Álvarez became provisional president and was succeeded in December, 1855, by Comonfort, who was elected constitutional president. Juárez, the most powerful and able among the group of Liberals who now gained control of affairs, is perhaps the most remarkable man Mexico has produced. Born in a village in Oaxaca in 1806, of unmixed Indian

Liberal Reforms: "Ley
Juárez," 1855; and
the "Ley Lerdo," 1856

parentage, he studied for the priesthood, later
studied law, taught in a local college, and
finally, going into politics, became governor

of his native state in 1847. He was a Liberal and became the minister of justice and ecclesiastical relations in the government of President Álvarez. In this capacity he secured the passage of the "Ley Juárez," which took away special privileges to members of the clergy and the army and subjected both to

the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. One of the curses of Mexico has always been "benefit of clergy," as the Liberals well understood, and this law aroused bitter opposition. This opposition caused the resignation of Álvarez, while Juárez retired to Oaxaca, where he again became governor of his native state. Under President Comonfort another reform measure was passed—the "Ley Lerdo," providing for the sale of church lands, the proceeds going to the church.¹ The clergy, of course, opposed this measure with great bitterness, and those purchasing the lands were threatened with excommunication.

The next step in the Liberals' program of reform was the calling of a Constituent Assembly and the promulgation of the constitution of 1857. It provided for a federal republic and asserted the supremacy of the state over the church. The provisions of the two great reform measures, the "Ley Juárez" and the "Ley Lerdo," were embodied in the constitution, and clergymen were made ineligible for election to the presidency, while complete freedom was guaranteed to non-Catholics.

Naturally these great and sweeping reforms were followed by a period of reaction. The Conservatives and the church party united against the new constitution and civil war was soon under way. In this struggle Juárez became the leader of the Liberals, while the Conservatives were led by General Felix Zuloaga and both claimed the presidency. The Conservative government attempted to abrogate the reform laws, while the Juárez government proclaimed still further reforms—such as complete separation of church and state, the confiscation

The "War of the
Reform"

of all church property except churches, the suppression of monasteries, civil marriage, civil registration of births, deaths, and marriages, and secularization of cemeteries. The Juárez government was greatly strengthened by the recognition of the United States, and in December, 1860, the Conservatives

¹ Señor Lerdo de Tejada, in a statistical report of the time, estimated the total value of the real property in Mexico at 1,355,000,000 pesos. Of this amount the clergy owned from 250,000,000 to 300,000,000 pesos. In addition the clergy controlled large amounts of property which they did not own, through loans (W. F. Callocott, *Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857*, pp. 250-251).

under General Miramón were defeated and the Liberal government took possession of the capital.

During the course of the civil war, outrages had been committed by both parties against foreigners, and the finances of the country were in the utmost confusion. Just a month before his overthrow Miramón had seized \$630,000 which had been left under seal at the British legation for English bondholders, and Juárez soon found that he was to be held responsible for the sins of his defeated rival. The Juárez government further aroused the interested European powers by suspending the payment of the interest on the British loan, while he did nothing to satisfy the claims of the other European

European Intervention
in Mexico, 1861

states. Finally, in October, 1861, an agreement was reached between Great Britain,

France, and Spain to take steps to intervene in Mexico. Both Spain and England had legitimate claims, but the French claims were based upon the claims of Jecker, a Swiss banker who had loaned Miramón \$750,000, which Miramón secured by handing over \$15,000,000 worth of 6 per cent. bonds. Jecker's creditors were French, and Napoleon III, dreaming of the establishment of a great Latin Empire in America, took advantage of this opportunity, declared Jecker a French citizen by imperial decree, and proceeded to support his claims against Mexico.

Vera Cruz was occupied by the European powers in December, 1861. Both Spain and England sent over small bodies of troops, but France sent over a large fleet, and proceeded to seize the Gulf ports. It was soon evident to both Spain and England that France was prepared to go beyond the agreement, and they accordingly withdrew their forces in March, 1862. Soon France had more than thirty thousand troops in Mexico and a campaign to conquer the country was begun. The energies of the United States were fully occupied in the Civil

The French Conquer
Mexico and Establish
Maximilian's Empire

War, though Secretary Seward did not fail to register her protest to France at every new turn in the affairs of Mexico. The French

took Puebla after a bloody repulse on May 5, 1862, while Mexico City fell on June 10, 1863. The Juárez government fled

from the capital, while an "Assembly of Notables" nominated by the French minister invited Maximilian, the brother of the emperor of Austria, to become the emperor of Mexico. A year later Maximilian arrived, bringing with him all the etiquette belonging to European courts. More unpopular even than Maximilian and his court with the Mexican people were the foreign troops who were in control of the central part of the country. Juárez, with a few followers, maintained the form of republican government in the north, while Díaz kept up revolt in the southwest. The country was torn by guerrilla warfare. Republican bands sprang up here and there, while Maximilian, with little capacity for government, alienated many of his followers, and the extravagances of the court made it impossible to place the finances upon a sound basis.

With the end of the American Civil War the United States took action at once on the Mexican situation. Secretary Seward had continued to protest against the aggressions of the French from the first, but as the Washington government was fully occupied with its own Civil War it was impossible to follow up the protests. United States troops were now sent to the Rio Grande, and Napoleon III, realizing that the Mexican venture was not worth all it was costing France, promised to withdraw his forces. Maximilian was now deserted by the power which had placed him upon his throne. The power of the Juárez government spread rapidly and in May, 1867,

The Overthrow of the
Empire and the Execu-
tion of Maximilian

Maximilian and a small force were captured at Querétaro, together with Miramón and Mehia, two Mexican generals. They were tried by court-martial on June 14 under charges of "rebellion, murder, and brigandage," and were shot on June 19, despite the protests of European governments and prominent individuals, including Garibaldi and Victor Hugo.

The Juárez government was now completely triumphant. These were years, however, of continued revolution; a clerical revolt breaking out in 1869 and a republican in 1870. At the election of 1871 there were three candidates for the presidency: Díaz, Lerdo de Tejado, besides Juárez; and no candidate receiving a majority, the election was thrown to Congress and Juárez

was again elected. Juárez died the next year and was succeeded by Lerdo de Tejado, the president of the Supreme Court. Under

The Administrations of
Juarez, 1867-1872;
and Lerdo de Tejado,
1872-1876

this administration laws were passed attacking the supremacy of the Catholic Church, and Protestant missions were established. In

1873 the Vera Cruz and Mexico City Railroad was opened, and as a whole these were years of economic advance. Toward the close of his administration Lerdo was suspected of aiming at a dictatorship and a rebellion was begun, led by Porfirio Díaz in 1876. Díaz was finally successful in defeating the presidential forces and on May 2, 1877, he was declared president.

The first term of President Díaz was from 1877 to 1880, when he was succeeded by President Gonzales (1880-1884). In 1884 Díaz was again elected president, and from that date to 1910 he was the master of Mexico. The long period of political disturbance had left Mexico bankrupt and the whole country was in the utmost disorder. Under the first administration of Díaz and under President Gonzales, diplomatic relations were restored with European and South American States and a beginning was made in financial and economic retrenchment.

The Administrations
of Porfirio Diaz,
1877-1910

After 1884 the constitution was so amended as to allow the continued election of Díaz, and down to 1910 Mexico was free from

political strife. The policy of Díaz may be summed up in these words: he put down disorder with a strong hand; enforced the law; fostered railroad building and native manufacturing; started new industries and gave them tariff protection; promoted education; protected the forests; encouraged colonization; and placed the national credit on a sound basis. The first task of Díaz was the pacification of the country. This was accomplished by means of the *guardias rurales*, or mounted police, which was composed of the class which in former days drifted into brigandage. Maintaining internal order was also greatly aided by the extension of railroads and the telegraph. The foreign policy of President Díaz was as successful as the home policy. Active measures were taken to establish arbitration for the Central American States; he accepted the

Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuelan dispute, though suggesting that its maintenance should be undertaken by all the American powers rather than be left to the United States alone. Foreign capital was welcomed and especially United States capital found profitable investments in Mexico.

President Díaz built up a strong centralized government, though he was always careful to maintain the democratic forms under the constitution of 1857. State governments were also largely under his control and no governor was elected without his approval. The courts and Congress likewise generally did his bidding. The Díaz system undoubtedly increased the wealth of Mexico, but little attention was given to the welfare of the great masses of the Mexican people. As time went on there gradually arose a considerable party of discontent. In

Causes of the Revolution
in Mexico in 1910

1904 the vice-presidency which had been previously abolished, was revived, owing to the advancing age of Díaz. Don Ramon Corral was elected to that office, and it became practically certain that if Díaz died in office he would be succeeded by Corral without difficulty. The younger generation which knew nothing of the disorder and anarchy of former days were restless under the unconstitutional government which had gradually grown up under the Díaz régime. The dictatorship of Díaz had also been carried on largely in the interest of the large landholders. In 1886 a Land Law was passed which permitted the denunciation of all land not held by a legal title. Most of the small holdings were held by peons, who knew nothing of titles, and in most cases had occupied the land for generations, undisturbed. As a result of this law, great tracts of land passed into the possession of the great landholders, or foreign investors while the peons were evicted by federal soldiers. The peons, therefore became bitter enemies of the Díaz government, and the revolution which led to his overthrow in a sense became a "war for the land."

The leader in the revolution, which resulted in the final overthrow of President Díaz, was Francisco I. Madero, who in 1910 announced his candidacy for the presidency. Madero was a member of a wealthy Mexican family having large land and

mining interests in the northern states. He had preceded the announcement of his candidacy with a book entitled *The Presidential Succession of 1910*, a very severe criticism of the whole Díaz régime. This led to his imprisonment, though he succeeded in escaping soon after the successful election of Díaz

The Revolution of
1910-1911

for the seventh time. Madero, now fully convinced that all peaceful measures were in vain, started a revolution with the avowed purpose of destroying the power of the Díaz government, at the same time advocating land and social reforms. Díaz soon found that he could not deal with the revolution as he had with many others in the days of his power. His army melted away, and he tried to maintain himself by proposing laws against the re-election of the president and made changes in his Cabinet. All this was in vain, however, for Madero and his party demanded that the old dictator retire, before they would consent to lay down their arms, and this he finally did May 21, 1911.

During the summer and autumn the secretary of foreign relation, acted as chief executive, and at the special elections in October Madero was elected president and assumed office the following month. Madero seemed to possess little natural ability as an executive and he was soon involved in a maze of difficulties. His promises of land reform were not carried out, while he was unable to suppress the revolutions which were appearing on every hand. Finally in February, 1913, he was assassinated through the treachery of one of the federal generals,

The Administration
and Overthrow of
Madero (1911-1913)

Victoriano Huerta, who now assumed the presidency. Huerta had been trained in the school of Díaz, and this act of treachery aroused resentment among those who stood for constitutional government, and organized resistance, to him and his rule, soon appeared.

The greatest blow to the Huerta government, however, came from the United States. President Woodrow Wilson was convinced that the United States could assist Mexico to stabilize her affairs by refusing to recognize such men as Huerta, who obtained power through assassination and political murder.

Accordingly, United States recognition of the Huerta government was withheld, much to the disgust of United States investors in Mexico. Threat of open war between the United States and the Huerta government followed the arrest of American marines at Tampico in April, 1914, and the refusal of Huerta to order the salute of the United States flag. American forces occupied Vera Cruz on April 21, but actual war between the two nations was finally avoided by their acceptance of mediation, proffered by the Argentine, Brazil, and Chile. Representatives of the United States, the Huerta

Huerta's Administration and Overthrow, 1913-1914

government of Mexico, and the three mediating powers met at Niagara Falls, Canada, and there an agreement was reached in June, 1914, by which a provisional government was to be formed for Mexico which was to be recognized by the United States and the other powers represented. The next month Huerta, unable to raise money, resigned and embarked for Europe.

Things were in a confused state in Mexico. A new leader, Venustiano Carranza, had arisen in the north and had placed himself at the head of the party calling themselves the Constitutionalists. Carranza entered Mexico City with his forces on August 15 and assumed the executive power. In October the United States recognized Carranza as the *de facto* president of Mexico. Meanwhile Pancho Villa, a former general of the Carranza party, but now at war with Carranza, broke across

Mexico Under President Carranza, 1914-1920

the southern boundary of the United States and plundered Columbus, New Mexico. The United States sent an army to the border which crossed over into Mexican territory in pursuit of the bandits. The Mexican government objected seriously to this invasion of her soil by United States troops, though President Carranza seemed to be neither able nor willing to do anything to stop the raids. For months war between Mexico and the United States was imminent, and was avoided only by the determined policy of President Wilson to remain at peace with Mexico.

The most notable achievement of the Carranza administration was the formulation of the constitution of 1917. In

many respects it followed the constitution of 1857, but it contained many new features, especially in regard to foreigners and subsoil wealth, which will be discussed in a later chapter.

President Carranza had made sweeping promises on his assumption of power, and his overthrow was largely due to his failure to fulfill these promises. In spite of his profession of economy, extravagance was rampant in the government departments. Financially the country was on the verge of ruin, the railroads were run down and school-teachers went without their pay. The President's stubborn character and his too stanch nationalism led him to oppose foreign investments and investors. The crisis in the opposition

**The Overthrow of
Carranza**

to Carranza came when he openly advocated the election of Bonillas, at the time Mexico's representative in the United States, as his successor, instead of General Obregón, to whom, it seems, he had promised his support. This to the leaders, Obregón, Gonzáles, and Aguiar, and others, smacked of the methods of the Díaz dynasty. The revolution began when Carranza sent federal troops into Sonora, Obregón's native state. This greatly aroused the wrath of the Sonora people, who were stanch in their support of General Obregón. At this juncture General de la Huerta was appointed commander of the Obregón forces, while provision was made for a northern Congress which was to take over the government if the revolution should prove successful. Meanwhile Gonzáles, another candidate for the presidency, organized a revolution in and around Mexico City, while Carranza's supporters fell away in large numbers. Soon Carranza was forced to flee from the capital, pursued by the forces of Gonzáles. He and his party were finally surrounded in the mountains near Pueblo and Carranza was assassinated. Obregón immediately repudiated the act and sought to punish those responsible for it. There seems to be no doubt but that Carranza was a stanch patriot and desired the welfare of his country, but he lacked tact, and his domineering methods alienated his followers.

On May 25, 1920, General de la Huerta was chosen provisional president to hold office until the election of a constitutional

executive. The election was held on September 5 and resulted in the choice of General Obregón, who was inaugurated December 1. President Obregón instituted a more friendly policy toward the United States, though he refused to hold out any special promises to foreign investors. Finally in April, 1923 an agreement was reached through commissioners representing both republics whereby diplomatic relations were renewed, and on September 3, 1923, each government received official representatives of the other. Relations between the United

The Obregón Admin-
istration, 1920-1924

States and Mexico were cordial until November, 1925.

President Obregón also advocated the passage of agrarian laws with the following features: (a) The expropriation of all unutilized or crudely cultivated land and large rural estates, for which the government should pay a price equal to the listed price plus 10 per cent; (b) the owner should be allowed to make formal objection within ten days, after which time the government should proceed to divide the seized land into plots of twelve and one-half to fifty acres, an amount sufficient for the support of one family; (c) the land is then to

Obregón's Proposed
Agrarian Law

be sold upon application to any Mexican citizen owning less than fifty acres. Payment to be made in twenty yearly installments at

the price previously paid by the government, plus interest at 5 per cent. In case the purchaser fails to cultivate his land during an entire year it will revert to the state. In order to insure immediate and efficient working of the new law, all conflicting contracts, taxes, imposts, and other obligations are to become void, and any attempt to evade or obstruct its action is punishable with fine of from 10 to 40 per cent of the value of the land in question. At the time this law was proposed 90 per cent. of the possible agricultural land in Mexico was idle.

In the presidential election of 1924 there were two candidates, Adolfo de la Huerta, secretary of the treasury in Obregón's cabinet, who had been very successful in his management of the finances of Mexico, and Plutarco Calles, whom Obregón had selected to succeed him. As the campaign progressed De la

Huerta was accused by Obregón of misuse of funds and of misrepresentation of facts relative to the creation of a bank of issue. These charges soon led to counter charges made by De la Huerta against the Obregón government and armed rebellion was inaugurated on December 5, 1923, at Vera Cruz. The revolt

The Election of 1924 soon assumed serious proportions. It was the attitude of the United States, in allowing Obregón to purchase arms and munition and forbidding the export of arms to the rebels, which turned the tide in favor of the government forces. In the elections which followed Calles was, of course, successful.

President Calles continued the policies inaugurated by General Obregón. Serious friction arose again between Mexico and the United States in 1925 over the question of subsoil deposits, and Mexican legislation limiting the amount of agricultural lands which might be held by foreigners. The United States government contended that these laws were retroactive and amounted to practical confiscation, and were in violation of agreements which had been made with the Obregón government. The land law, however, seems to have been accepted by many aliens, including American citizens, and it is probable

**The Problems of the
Administration of
President Calles**

that it will cause no further trouble. The problem of subsoil wealth involves the question of oil, and test cases have been brought before the Mexican Supreme Court, and the court has rendered the first decision in favor of the aggrieved oil companies.

One of the most serious problems which the Calles administration had to face was that of religion. The hostility of the Roman Catholic Church toward the Mexican government was aroused with the promulgation of the constitution of 1917. The constitution provides that ministers in charge of churches must be of Mexican birth and the declaration of the Calles administration that all the laws regarding the church would be enforced led to active resistance on the part of the Catholic clergy. As a measure of resistance the officials of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico ordered that there should be no formal religious service conducted in the churches until the

Mexican government changes its present policy in reference to the church.

Again on July 1, 1928, General Alvaro Obregón was elected president without opposition, for a six-year term beginning December 1. A few weeks later, July 18, he was assassinated while attending a banquet in his honor given by his political supporters at the little town of San Angel, near Mexico City. The confession of the assassin indicates that the crime was motivated by religious fervor.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN AND ISLAND REPUBLICS AND PANAMA

CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS

As we have already learned, the people of Central America achieved their independence after Mexico to the north and Colombia to the south had set them the example. Inspired by the example of Mexico and the Plan of Iguala, Guatemala declared herself free in September, 1821, to be followed soon afterward by San Salvador and Honduras. There soon developed two political groups, one favoring the union of Central America with Mexico under Iturbide, the other, the Republicans, favoring the establishment of a federal republic. In 1822 Guatemala, without waiting for the action of the other prov-

The Winning of
Independence and the
Union with Mexico

inces, announced her annexation to Mexico. Opposition to this policy was particularly strong in San Salvador and an attempt was made by military force to annex all the provinces to Mexico. Before this could be accomplished, however, Iturbide was overthrown and steps were at once taken to declare the independence of Central America. This was accomplished in a Congress assembled June 24, 1823.

This Congress undertook the task of formulating a constitution for the United Provinces of Central America. Mexican troops were soon withdrawn and in 1824 Mexico recognized the independence of the new confederation. A federal constitution, modeled after that of the United States, was formulated, which went into operation early in 1825. Meanwhile the several states of the confederation had organized their own governments. The first president of the confederation was Manuel José Arce, a Liberal, who soon found himself opposed by the Moderate party, which favored a centralized government and were favorable to the Catholic Church. Revolts soon

developed and after two years of fighting Arce was overthrown by Francisco Morazán, of Honduras, an able leader, who in 1830 became president. Morazán held office two terms, though his authority rapidly waned, for the Conservatives gained control of the state governments, and in 1828 the Federal

The United Provinces
of Central America,
1825-1839

Congress declared that the individual states were free and independent. By the end of Morazán's second term his authority was not recognized outside of San Salvador, and finally he gave up the hopeless struggle and departed for Peru. This marked the end of the confederation, and the beginning of the turbulent career of the Central American republics.

It will be impossible here to trace the tangled individual history of each of these little republics in detail. Guatemala and Costa Rica have had a somewhat different history than the three central republics of San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras. Costa Rica, having withdrawn from the confederation in 1838, formulated constitutions in 1844, 1847, 1871. The latter

Costa Rica

constitution served the little republic until 1917. Costa Rica has been fortunate in that most of the land is held in comparatively small tracts by individual proprietors, and this wide distribution of the nation's wealth has made for a more democratic and law-abiding citizenship. The population of Costa Rica is about 500,000 (1914).

For thirty years after the overthrow of the confederation Guatemala was under the domination of Rafael Carrera, a half-breed reactionary, largely under the control of the church. A constitution was adopted in 1851 and in 1854 Carrera was made president for life. He ruled as a despot until his death in 1865. After the death of Carrera the Liberals gained

Guatemala

control of the government under the leadership of Justo R. Barríos, who was elected president in 1871. He adopted an anti-clerical policy and many of the ecclesiastical privileges were withdrawn, and a liberal constitution adopted in 1879. Barríos was an advocate of Central American Union and met his death in 1885 fighting for that ideal. The constitution was again changed in 1887, which provided for a six-year presidential term, by the direct

vote of the people. Manuel Estrada Cabrera served as president for many years, when he was overthrown by an insurrection in 1920.

Guatemala is largely an Indian republic, as more than half the population of two millions are full-blooded Indians or half-breeds. In contrast with Costa Rica the large plantation system prevails in Guatemala, while the Indians are in the condition largely of servitude.

Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador, the three central republics, have made several attempts at confederation. In 1842 a confederation was organized which lasted only two years. Again in 1849 another attempt at confederation was made which again resulted in failure. In 1895 a third attempt to

form a federation of these three states was made. A constitution was formed for the Greater Republic of Central America, but

like the other attempts at federation, it likewise failed, due to opposition which developed in Salvador. We have noticed the attempts at confederation by President Barrios of Guatemala which resulted in the death of Barrios. In 1907 the president of Nicaragua made a similar proposal with the same result. In the same year, 1907, under the joint invitation of Presidents Díaz of Mexico and Roosevelt of the United States, the Central American republics were invited to a conference at Washington to discuss the means of doing away with the causes of conflict among the Central American States. Here conventions were adopted concerning peace and amity and extradition, while future conferences were agreed upon. Out of this conference also came the Central American Court of Justice, which was designed to pass upon disagreements arising among the republics. The court ceased to function in 1918, due to the failure of the United States and Nicaragua to abide by its decision in a case affecting them both. In 1921 a treaty was signed between Costa Rica, Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras providing for a federal union with plural executives. This latest plan was defeated by a revolution in Guatemala in 1922. The last attempt at some kind of understanding among the Central American states was made in 1922 at a conference at Wash-

Attempts at
Confederation

ington. Here twelve treaties and conventions and three protocols were signed. These pertain to secret treaties, revolutionary movements against other Central American powers, limitation of armies and armaments, and declarations that illegal alterations of their constitutions are a menace to peace, and the obligation of each state not to intervene in favor of or against any other republic in case of civil war. These treaties and conventions only need enforcement to bring about peaceful and stable conditions in Central America. Since these agreements the United States seems to have been the chief offender in her intervention in Nicaragua.

Since 1838 Honduras has had a political career much like that of Guatemala. A Liberal constitution was adopted in 1848 providing for freedom of religion and conscience, which was replaced by a Conservative constitution denying these privileges in 1865. The present constitution is that of 1894. In 1849

Honduras

Honduras had a dispute with Great Britain over the boundary of the British colony of Belize which was peacefully adjusted by a treaty granting most of the English claims. The population of Honduras is largely half-breed. The population estimate for 1914 was 562,000.

From the standpoint of the United States Nicaragua is the most important of the five Central American republics, due to the United States interest in a possible canal by the Nicaragua route. In 1850 the Clayton-Bulwer treaty between the United States and England was signed providing that neither would build a canal without the other, and that neither would occupy, colonize, or exercise dominion over any part of Central America.

About this time an American adventurer by the name of William Walker got control of Nicaragua. He had gone to California in 1850 in the gold rush, and in 1853 had attempted a filibustering expedition into Mexico, which, however, was a failure. Later he conceived the idea of conducting a similar expedition into Nicaragua. He landed in the country in 1855 with seventy men, and soon succeeded, through the aid of the American consul, in securing for himself the appointment as commander-in-chief of the army. From this post he soon advanced to the presidency, and for two years maintained himself

in Nicaragua as president. His original plans had been to form a military government and proceed to the conquest of Central America, Mexico, and Cuba. At this time the slave-holders in the South were planning the extension of slavery and the adding of slave states to the Union by seizing Cuba and other states to the south. Walker, however, on having secured power, attempted to keep it for himself, and this proved his undoing. He was deserted by his friends in the United States when they learned of his purpose, and he was driven out by an insurrection in Nicaragua in 1857. He made two other attempts to regain his power in the country, but was captured in 1860 and put to death as a pirate.

On Nicaragua obtaining independence in 1838 a constitution was formulated the same year which lasted until 1854, when a new constitution was adopted providing for a unicameral Legislature. This gave way in turn to the constitution of 1893; the present constitution was adopted in 1905. There soon developed two parties in Nicaragua, with varying names, the Liberals and the Moderates. The Moderates have supported the clergy, while the Liberals have opposed clerical influence. In 1893 José Santos Zelaya, a leader of the Liberal party, succeeded, after an insurrection, in gaining control of the country and maintained himself in authority until 1909. During the early part of this period he promoted railroad building and modern improvements; bettered the financial condition of the republic, but unfortunately he failed to adjust the debts of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua The United States from this time on took an active part in Nicaraguan affairs. A treaty was signed with the United States in 1911 which provided for the refunding of the Nicaraguan debt and for a loan that should be guaranteed by the customs receipts. The treaty also provided that the United States should exercise supervision over the collection of customs. Although this agreement was not ratified by the United States Senate, yet President Taft, in spite of that fact, appointed a collector of customs. In 1916 the United States entered into the Bryan-Chamorro treaty with Nicaragua in which the United States agreed to pay

Nicaragua \$3,000,000 for the exclusive right to construct and maintain a canal across the Nicaragua route.

The United States has continued to supervise the finances of Nicaragua. A joint commission made up of representatives from the United States and Nicaragua has been in charge of Nicaraguan fiscal matters and by 1920 the Nicaragua debt was reduced to less than \$10,000,000. The same year two New York banking houses loaned Nicaragua \$9,000,000 to be spent largely on railroad construction. These large loans have attracted other investments, and since 1923 the United States government has been involved in the thankless task of trying to maintain peace and order in this little republic. A brief outline of this complicated story will be given in the chapter on international relations.

None of the Central American states has had a more turbulent history than Salvador and none so much involved in troubles with neighboring states. The first constitution (1841) provided for a president and bicameral Legislature. Immediately two parties arose, the Liberal and Conservative, holding to the usual principles of those parties in the other states. In 1864 a second constitution was adopted of a conservative nature, in which only the Roman Catholic Church was to be recognized. The Liberals, under General Santiago Gonzáles, overthrew the Conservative president in 1872, a Liberal constitution was formed, and Gonzáles was elected president. The present constitution of Salvador was adopted in 1886.

Salvador

Salvador is the smallest of the Central American states and is the only one not having an Atlantic coast line. It is the most thickly populated, with an estimated population of 1,700,000.

THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

The republic of Panama is largely the creature of the United States, and is the youngest of the Latin-American republics. Its independent existence dates from November 6, 1903, when it revolted against the republic of Colombia, and was recognized by the United States on November 6, and in less than two

weeks a treaty was signed between Panama and the United States (November 18) by which Panama's independence was guaranteed and a canal zone ceded on the United States agreeing to pay Panama \$10,000,000 and after nine years an annual

**Panama Becomes an
Independent Republic,
November 3, 1903**

payment of \$250,000. A constitution was adopted February 13, 1904, and a few days later the treaty was ratified by both parties

to it. European powers soon followed the example of the United States and recognized the independence of Panama. The rapidity with which all this was accomplished no doubt hastened the building of the Panama Canal, but it can hardly be justified as internationally legal, and it has caused a great deal of suspicion of and dissatisfaction with the United States throughout Latin America.

Article CXXXVI of the Panama constitution gives the United States power to intervene to "re-establish public peace and constitutional order," on the condition the United States guarantee the independence and sovereignty of Panama. This provision makes Panama practically a protectorate of the United States. The United States has used this power on several occasions—in 1908 when a rebellion was threatened on the approach of the national election, and again in 1917 and 1918 when election disturbances again threatened.

Panama during her brief history has had several boundary problems to settle. In September, 1914, the boundary between the Panama Canal Zone and the republic of Panama was determined by a treaty with the United States. It gave the control of the waters at the Atlantic end of the canal to the United States, ceded two small islands and a placement for a land bat-

**Panama's Boundary
Disputes**

ttery on the mainland. Panama inherited a boundary dispute with Costa Rica from Colombia. In 1910 through the good offices of

the United States the two nations agreed that the chief justice of the United States should decide the boundary, and both parties agreed to abide by the decision. The decision was announced in 1914 by which some territory claimed by Panama on the Atlantic was ceded to Costa Rica, while a portion of the territory claimed by Costa Rica was ceded to Panama. This

award did not satisfy the republic of Panama and in 1920 she proceeded to occupy the territory claimed, and armed conflicts actually occurred. The United States government took action at this juncture, demanded that Panama accept the boundary award, and to evacuate the territory of Costa Rica.

THE ISLAND REPUBLICS

CUBA

Cuba was a Spanish possession until 1898. The Cubans did not revolt when the other Spanish colonies in America were fighting for independence, and at the close of the wars many loyalists from South America came to Cuba. By 1825 there was a population on the island of 715,000 of which 325,000 were whites. The Spanish administration of Cuba after 1825 continued to be both inefficient and corrupt, while a mistaken economic policy hampered the chief industry, sugar growing. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century Cuba was an object of particular interest to the United States. Jefferson desired it, and John Quincy Adams believed it would eventually become a part of the American Union. Clay and Webster were fearful lest it become the possession of some other nation than Spain and with the agitation for the increase of slave territory the South became more insistent for its annexation. Cuban annexation was attempted on various occasions. The Civil War, however, put a stop to these efforts and American interest in the island became largely commercial. Soon after the Civil War a revolution broke out in Cuba (1868-1878), characterized by the destruction of life and property. President Grant threatened intervention, but peace was finally restored after Spain had promised various reforms. These promises were not carried out, however, and Spain continued her old policy of exploitation and misrule. In 1895 another revolution was begun by the Cubans, due to the same old causes. The Spanish-born enjoyed all the privileges, held the offices, and reaped the profits, while race discrimination and favoritism were everywhere practiced.

Cuba from 1825 to
the Outbreak of the
Spanish-American War

The United States
and Cuba

Spain tried in vain to put an end to the revolution and sent over some 200,000 troops. But the war dragged on without any prospect of subduing the island.

Meanwhile the sympathies of the people of the United States for the Cubans was aroused by the policy of General Weyler in gathering the inhabitants of the island into concentration camps, where they were subjected to intense suffering. As a result American filibustering expeditions became numerous and supplies were sent to the Cuban rebels. The American Congress discussed conditions in Cuba and many of the members were strongly in favor of intervention. The matter was brought to a crisis on February 15, 1898, by the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Habana. The American press at once accused the Spanish authorities of sinking the ship. Negotiations continued until April 21,

The Independence of
Cuba

when war was declared between Spain and the United States. The war continued until August, 1898. Every engagement, both naval and military, was in favor of the United States. Cuba and Porto Rico were captured as well as the Philippines, and two Spanish fleets were destroyed. At the opening of the war Congress declared that its object was to free Cuba from Spain and not to annex the island. At the close of the war, however, the American army remained in Cuba to clean up the island. The Cubans were allowed to hold a constitutional convention, and a constitution, copied largely after that of the United States, was the result. Before the government was established, however, the American Congress passed what was known as the Platt amendment, limiting the independence of Cuba. It provided, first, that Cuba must make no treaty with a foreign power giving it lodgment in the island or impairing its own independence; second, certain regulations concerning finances were laid down; third, the United States was given the right to intervene to preserve Cuban independence and to assure good government. The Cuban government was also to carry out certain plans for the sanitation of the island and agree to lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling stations. The Platt amendment was made a part of the Cuban constitution in 1901.

The Cuban republic began its career in 1902 under President Estrada Palma. There soon arose two parties, the Liberal in opposition to the policies of President Palma, and the Conservative supporting him. The Conservatives were drawn largely from the large landholding class and were favorable to the United States maintaining large influence in the Island. The Liberals, on the other hand, were hostile to that influence. In 1896 President Palma was re-elected, but his second election was followed almost immediately by an insurrection, and the Cuban government appealed to the United States for assistance. President Roosevelt sent Secretaries Taft and Bacon to Cuba

**The Administration of
President Palma and
the Second Occupation
by the United States**

to study the situation and reconcile the factions. On September 28 President Palma and his Cabinet resigned, but the Congress failed to elect a successor. Under these conditions Mr. Taft proclaimed a provisional government, and proceeded to disarm the insurgents. United States military officials were stationed in various parts of the island. Mr. Taft remained provisional governor until October 3, when Charles E. Magoon, who had gained experience as governor of the Canal Zone, assumed that office. Under the provisional government peace was maintained in the island, new electoral and criminal laws were enacted, and valuable public improvements were made.

The second occupation of Cuba by the United States lasted more than two years, ending on January 23, 1909, with the inauguration of President José Miguel Gómez and Vice-President Alfredo Zayas. President Gómez had been elected by the Liberal party, but the new administration was hardly under way before the party began to break up into contending factions. The administration proved corrupt and extravagant, but in spite of this fact Cuba was prosperous and public works of great value

**The Administration of
President Gómez,
1909-1913**

were constructed. A Negro insurrection in 1912 for a time threatened to become a serious race war, and the United States landed marines to protect property and foreign nationals, and a large fleet was assembled at Key West and it seemed that intervention was pending. In the election of 1912 the Conservative

candidate, Mario García Menocal, was elected, due to the friction within the Liberal party.

The administration of President Menocal has little to recommend it. The president promised fiscal reforms and prudent administration, but he was accused of dictatorial methods and maladministration. In spite of this fact he was again elected in 1916 over Alfredo Zayas, the Liberal candidate, who was supported by Gómez. The results of the election were very close and the Liberals, without waiting for a decision, raised a revolt, but Menocal was able to suppress the insurrection aided by United States marines who were landed at Santiago. Cuba's part in the Great War is described in a later chapter.

The Two Administrations of President Menocal, 1913-1921

At the close of the Great War Cuban leaders were convinced that reforms were needed in the election laws, and General E. H. Crowder, of the United States army, was invited to draft a suitable measure. This he did, though in the ensuing election its measures were largely disregarded.

In the election of 1920 Alfredo Zayas, the Liberal candidate in the election of 1916, was now the candidate of the Conservatives and another faction known as the Popular party, and backed by Menocal. The Liberal candidate was General Gómez. The results of the election were uncertain, though after new partial elections had been held in several provinces, Zayas was declared elected. President Zayas came into office in the midst of a financial crisis. Many banks failed and business concerns were forced into bankruptcy. With the approval of the United States government a loan of \$50,000,000

Cuba Since 1920

was floated in 1923 and conditions began at once to improve. The war loan of \$10,000,000 was liquidated and the year closed with a surplus. In the election of 1924 Menocal was the candidate of the Conservative party, while General Gerardo Machado was the Liberal candidate. President Zayas supported Machado, who was elected. President Machado's administration is particularly notable because of the meeting of the Pan-American conference in Habana in February, 1928, and his reception of President Coolidge of the United States.

THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI

There is very little in the one hundred and twenty-four years of Haitian independent history which deserves recording. Altogether it has been a sorry spectacle, though the confusion in the republic was not actually as great as it might appear to an outsider. In 1849 Soulouque, who had previously obtained the presidency, proclaimed himself emperor and ruled for nine years under the title of Faustin I. He was finally driven into exile by Fabre Geffrard, an intelligent mulatto, whose reforms made him unpopular, and he was forced to flee the country in 1867. Of the next four presidents, one was shot and three were driven into exile. The next president, Salomon, held office for ten years. There followed Haiti from 1844 to 1915 now a period of almost constant civil war, which lasted to the end of the century, and with the opening of the new century conditions became even worse. The last eight presidents previous to the outbreak of the World War held office on the average less than a year. Haitian finances were also in a sad plight and payment on all government obligations was suspended. It was this situation which led the United States to intervene.

SANTO DOMINGO

The island, which the Spaniards called Española, or Santo Domingo, is to-day divided between two republics, the Dominican republic, occupying the eastern portion of the island, and the republic of Haiti, the western portion. Both are largely Negro in population. Santo Domingo had a population of 897,402 in 1921; while the population of Haiti was estimated at 2,028,000 in 1924.

Up until 1697 the island was a Spanish possession, but in that year, by the treaty of Ryswick, France obtained the western half of the island, and a hundred years later (1795), during the French Revolution, France secured the eastern part of the island. The island played a conspicuous part in Napoleon's scheme to re-establish a French colonial empire in America. In 1801 the Negro leader, Toussaint l'Ouverture, gained control of the

whole island after a very terrible civil war, in which the white population was practically destroyed. In 1802 Napoleon sent Le Clerc with an army of ten thousand men to put down the rebellion and the island became headquarters in a scheme for building a great western colonial empire. Toussaint l'Ouverture

The History of Santo
Domingo to the
Establishment of
Independence

was subdued, was seized and sent to France.

Immediately the Negroes once more rose in rebellion, and, aided by yellow fever, drove the French from the island. Napoleon now

abandoned his dream of a western empire, sold Louisiana to the United States, and in 1804 the Dominicans declared themselves a free and independent republic.

At the close of the Napoleonic wars the eastern part of the island was restored to Spain, but in 1821, inspired by the wars for independence going on in South America, the Dominicans rebelled against Spanish authority, and proclaimed their independence. At this juncture the president of Haiti, as the western part of the island was now called, captured the city of Santo Domingo and from 1832 to 1844 the Haitians dominated the whole island.

The Dominicans won their independence from Haiti in 1844 in a revolutionary struggle led by Juan Pablo Duarte, who founded a secret society to promote his country's independence. This movement proved successful and in 1844 Santo Domingo City was captured and a government was organized under a constitution drafted by a convention. From 1844 to 1904 the republic has had twenty presidents, and disorder and turbulence has characterized Dominican history throughout. From 1861 to 1865 Spain took advantage of the weakness of the United States, then engaged in the Civil War, to declare a protectorate

The Dominican Republic from Independence, 1844, to 1904

over the Dominicans. In 1865 Spanish forces

were driven out in what is known as "The War of the Restoration." In 1868 a treaty

was negotiated with the United States providing for annexation, but the United States Senate failed to ratify the treaty although the Dominicans approved it by a *plebiscite*. The two outstanding figures in Dominican history during these years were General Buenaventura Baez, who held the office of president

five times, and General Ulises Heureux, who dominated affairs for seventeen years.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

By 1904 the Dominican republic faced bankruptcy, due to the extravagance of Heureux and the almost constant fighting going on in the republic. The debt in this year was about \$32,000,000, held mostly by European creditors, while the annual income came far short of meeting the annual expenditures. This situation led to a proposal from the United States that the management of the finances of the little republic should be taken over by the Washington government. This led to a protocol, signed in 1905, providing for the adjustment of the debt, the administration of the customhouses, and the furnishing of other assistance to restore credit, promote the welfare, and maintain order in the Dominican republic. This agreement the United States Senate refused to ratify on the ground that it established a protectorate over the Dominican republic. In 1907 a treaty was finally agreed upon which provided that the United States government should manage the customs of the Dominican republic for a period of fifty years. The results of this agreement have been in the main beneficial, though the temptation to interfere with the government of the little republic has sometimes resulted in infringement of her sovereignty.

A new constitution was promulgated in 1908, but the first president elected under the new instrument of government was assassinated, and a period of civil war followed. Revolution followed revolution until in April, 1916, the president of Santo Domingo asked the United States marines to intervene. Intervention was successful in putting down the revolution, but when a new government was elected the United States refused to extend recognition until a treaty, practically making Santo Domingo a protectorate of the United States, was agreed upon. This the Dominican president and his Cabinet refused to sign, and accordingly the native government collapsed, since the revenues were under the control of the United States officials. Military government over the Dominican republic was pro-

The United States
Intervenes in the
Dominican Republic

claimed in November, 1916, under Admiral Snowden, of the United States navy, with a Cabinet made up of Americans from the navy and the marine corps. There immediately arose

Affairs in the friction between the Americans and the
Dominican Republic natives and popular liberties were largely
from 1916 suppressed. The United States announced

that it did not intend to destroy the sovereignty of the Dominican republic, but to many people in the little republic as well as in the United States, it appeared their sovereignty had been destroyed, and considerable dissatisfaction and criticism resulted. Finally, in July, 1922, the Department of State at Washington announced that they were ready to terminate military government in Santo Domingo. A provisional president was installed in October of that year, and in July, 1924, Horacio Vasquez was inaugurated constitutional president, and all American officials as well as the military forces were withdrawn, with the exception of the customs officials who remained in charge of the customs service.

American administration of the affairs of the republic resulted in the introduction of numerous reforms. Compulsory education was enforced, sanitary conditions much improved, and finances restored to a sound basis. In 1924 the bonded debt of the little republic was \$13,534,276; customs receipts were \$4,386,602 as against \$3,596,166 in 1923; internal revenue was nearly a million dollars greater in 1924 than in 1923.

American relations with Haiti now followed much the same general lines as with Santo Domingo. In July, 1915, the government of Haiti was overthrown by a revolution which resulted in the murder of the president. A few days later an American cruiser arrived in Port-au-Prince, marines were landed, and gradually the whole country was occupied, while in the meantime the customs houses were taken over, the natives were disarmed, and all weapons seized. Unlike the Santo Domingo situation, the Haitian government remained intact, due to the fact that a treaty was ratified, presented by the American legation, which practically reduced Haiti to the status of an American protectorate. The treaty provided for American assistance of Haiti in the development

of her resources and in the reorganization of her finances, while a number of American experts, nominated by the President of the United States, were to direct the finances, the police, and the sanitation. In attempting to put the provisions of the treaty into operation a great deal of confusion resulted. The officials of the native government, the American treaty officials, and the military constantly conflicted, with the result that comparatively little was accomplished. As in Santo Domingo, the military officials were often tactless and arbitrary, while the methods pursued by the provost courts aroused the resentment of the natives.

Since 1922 the friction between the native and the United States officials has decreased, due to the appointment by the President of the United States of a high commissioner to supervise and co-ordinate the native and American officials. Order was established in the interior of the island, and the United States marines were withdrawn from the interior points. The public debt of the republic has been materially decreased since 1915 and a surplus of receipts over expenditures has enabled the government to spend considerable sums on public works. The present president is Louis Bornor, who was elected in 1922 and re-elected in 1926.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE GOVERNMENTS OF LATIN AMERICA: THE FEDERAL REPUBLICS

THE form of government which has been adopted throughout Latin America is republican, and however unsuccessful it may have been in practice, yet the people are thoroughly wedded to it in theory and will tolerate no other. Three times have monarchies been established in Latin America, twice in Mexico and in Brazil once, but all were failures. The chief reason for the lack of stability in Latin-American government seems to be lack of experience in self-government, as well as a

Governmental Characteristics and Conceptions of the Latin American

lack of certain characteristics which self-government tends to create in the individual.

In the first place, the Latin Americans have little conception of toleration in politics.

They have all been educated in the Roman Catholic Church and have brought "into politics the absolutism of religious dogmas." One party thinks of the other as completely wrong, while they have the absolute right on their side, hence, their adversaries must be annihilated. "The hatred of one's opponents is the first duty of the politician," and so it is only by force and violence that a party can come into power. It may be said with truth that there is no such thing as public opinion in most of the Latin American states. Elections give no opportunity for the free expression of the desires of the people, because they are conducted under the control of the government and the party in power; hence the only way for one party to replace another is by revolution. Revolution under such conditions seems to be a necessary form of political activity.

Latin Americans are excellent theorists and constitution makers. On paper their instruments of government are almost perfect. Their ideas of justice and liberty are high, as high indeed as those of the Anglo-Saxon republics of the north.

Their constitutions are written in solemn and impressive language in which Divine approval is invoked, but a student of Latin American politics will soon learn that it is one thing to make a constitution and quite another to carry it out and to abide by it.

Latin American
Constitutions

There are two types of republics prevailing in Latin America: centralized and federal. Under the first come Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Uruguay, and Paraguay, the republics of Central America as well as the three island republics, Cuba excepted. Under the federal form come the larger states

General Character of
Latin American
Governments

of Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, and Mexico. All of the constitutions separate the departments of government more or less distinctly into executive, legislative, and judicial. They all have elective presidencies, the president generally holding office for a period of four to six years. The legislative branch of the governments consists generally of a Congress of two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The judicial department is provided with a Supreme Court, with appointive judges, while the provinces or states have special courts of their own. The constitutions generally recognize the Catholic religion as the religion of the state, though in some the establishment or prohibition of any form of religion is prohibited. In all the states education is free and compulsory.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA¹

The oldest of the federal constitutions now in operation in Latin America is that of the Argentine Republic. It dates from 1853. It resembles closely the constitution of the United States, though it allows somewhat greater autonomy to the provinces. The Argentine constitution reserves to the provinces all powers not delegated to the federal government. The powers delegated to the federal government are similar to those exercised by the federal government of the United States. One

¹The two chapters on the governments of Latin America are based largely on the James' discussions of Latin American constitutions and governments in James and Martin, *The Republics of Latin America* (New York, 1923).

of the peculiar features of the Argentine constitution is the provision (Articles 5 and 6) allowing the federal government to intervene in the provinces in order to preserve a republican form of government. Intervention has taken place numerous times, and the net result is a very different relationship between federal and provincial governments than that which obtains in the United States.

The Relation of the
Federal and Provincial
Governments

Article 2 of the Argentine constitution practically establishes the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church. The federal government is also charged with the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith while the president and vice-president must be Roman Catholics. While the federal government gives special consideration to the Catholic Church, as a matter of fact, the constitution guarantees freedom of worship, and as Bryce points out there is little church influence in the politics of the Argentine Republic (Bryce, *South America*, p. 342).

The Relation of
Church and State

Since 1911 voting is by secret ballot. There is manhood suffrage after the age of seventeen, with no educational or property qualification. Presidential electors and national representatives are chosen by the direct vote of the people.

Executive power is vested in a president and vice-president, chosen for a term of six years by an electoral college. The process of elections follows closely that of the United States. The powers of the president are much like those of the President of the United States, though in several respects he exercises even greater power. He may introduce measures in Congress; while he is also granted what is known as the power of *executive ordinance*, to put into execution the laws. He may prorogue Congress when meeting in ordinary session and may declare a state of siege in any part of the republic, and this includes the right of suspending constitutional guarantees, if Congress is not in session. The executive largely dominates Congress, and his are the most powerful functions in the government of the republic.

The Executive

The executive is assisted by eight ministers, and he must act through his ministers. The ministers might participate

in Congressional debates, but they cannot vote. Each minister must submit to Congress a written report concerning the condition of his department, and he may be summoned to appear before Congress at any time for oral reports. The eight ministries are: Foreign Relations and Worship, Treasury, Justice and Public Instruction, War, Navy, Public Works; Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.

The legislative branch of the Argentine government consists of two houses, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The members of the lower house are elected by direct vote of the people. The qualifications for a deputy require that he be twenty-five years of age, and that he be either a native or a resident for two years in the province immediately preceeding. He serves for four years and may be re-elected. The Senate is made of two senators from each province and two from the federal district. They are chosen by the provincial Legislatures to serve a term of nine years, and may be re-elected indefinitely. The Senate shares with the president the appointing power of many high officials, including federal judges, diplomatic officials, high army and navy officials; and it nominates a triple list from which the president chooses the bishops. The process of legislation is much like that followed in the United States.

The federal judiciary consists of a supreme court and such inferior courts as Congress might establish. There are five courts of appeal and courts of first instance in each province and federal territory. Federal judges are chosen by the president, with the approval of the Senate, and hold office during good behavior. Only lawyers who have had eight years experience in the federal courts may be appointed to the judgeships. They must be at least thirty years of age and possess an income of two thousand pesos a year.

The Argentine Republic is on a gold basis, its unit of value being the gold peso, valued at \$.965 in United States gold. The principal money in circulation is the paper peso, with a value fixed by law at 43 cents in United States currency

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF BRAZIL

The constitution under which the present government of Brazil is carried on was adopted February 24, 1891. Brazil consists of twenty states, a federal district, and one territory, that of Acre, ceded to Brazil by Bolivia in 1902. Federal jurisdiction is much more extensive in Brazil than in United States. The federal government may intervene in the affairs of the states; Congress may regulate the election of federal officials throughout the country; may declare a state of siege and suspend constitutional guarantees. The tendency has been in recent years toward increasing the federal power at the expense of the states. This tendency has been resisted, particularly by the wealthy states of São Paulo and Minas Geraes.

The States and the
Federal Government

The suffrage is granted to male citizens, twenty-one years of age, whose names have been entered on the register. Members of monastic orders, soldiers on pay, and illiterates may not vote. The Brazilian constitution contains a *bill of rights*, which besides the usual enumeration mentions such rights as freedom of worship, civil marriage, secularization of public instruction and cemeteries, separation of church and state, and abolition of the death penalty for political offenses.

The executive power is vested in a president and vice-president elected for four years, and they may not be immediately re-elected. The powers of the executive are similar to those exercised by the President of the United States, though he exercises some powers not given to the United States executive.

The Executive and
His Ministers

Seven ministers assist the president; they are appointed by him and are responsible to him, though they are subject to impeachment.

The executive departments are Foreign Relations, Justice and Interior, Navy, War, Communications and Public Works, Finance; Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.

The Brazilian constitution makes provision for a federal supreme court and inferior courts to be created by Congress. The supreme court consists of fifteen judges, who are appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate. They hold

office for life or during good behavior. The inferior federal courts are presided over by judges likewise appointed for life by the president, though nominated by the supreme court.

The Federal Judiciary Each state has a federal judge, while one of the judges of the supreme court is named attorney-general by the president.

The unit of monetary value of Brazil is the gold milries, having a value of \$.57 in United States gold. The paper milries, however, is the unit in actual circulation, with a fluctuating value varying from \$.11 to \$.32.

State governments of Brazil are organized after the pattern of the federal government. As a matter of fact, there are considerable differences between the governments of the several states. In more advanced states such as São Paulo there is effective and actual self-government, but in several of the thinly populated states, or in those states where Negroes and half-breeds predominate, the government is in the hands of a few great landed proprietors, and even in some instances of a single family.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF VENEZUELA

The present constitution of the republic of Venezuela dates from June 13, 1914, and is the thirteenth under which Venezuela has been governed since her independence. The official name of the republic is the United States of Venezuela, and there are twenty states, two territories and a federal district. An interesting provision of the constitution is that all state officials hold office for three years. The functions of the federal and state governments are much like those of the United States. All male citizens, twenty-one years of age, who possess the qualifications specified by the constitution, are allowed to vote.

The president is chosen for a term of seven years by Congress. Among the exceptional powers granted to the Venezuelan executive are the right "to arrest, to expel, or to exclude pernicious foreigners and the privilege of changing the seat of the national government." He must be a native-born Venezuelan, thirty-one years of age, and not a member of the clergy. His re-election is not prohibited; in case of temporary disability

he may choose a Cabinet minister to act for him. He does not possess the veto power. He carries on his executive func-

**The Venezuelan
Executive and His
Ministers**

tions through seven ministers. The ministers are responsible legally to the supreme court, and politically to the Chamber of Deputies.

The executive departments are: Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, War and Marine, Industries, Public Works, Public Instruction.

The legislative branch of the Venezuelan republic consists of a Congress made up of two chambers, a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The members of the Chamber of Deputies are chosen for a term of three years, by direct popular vote, on the basis of one for every thirty-five thousand inhabitants, or fraction thereof amounting to more than fifteen thousand. Unlike most of the Latin-American constitutions the lower house in Venezuela does not possess the power of impeachment. The upper house, or Senate, is made up of two members

**The Legislative Branch
of the Government**

from each state, making forty in all. They are chosen for three years, and must be thirty years of age and native citizens.

Congress meets in annual session for seventy days and may be called in special session at the discretion of the president.

Venezuela has an elective supreme court consisting of seven judges, who serve for a period of seven years. It passes on the constitutionality of both federal and state laws.

The unit of value in Venezuela is the *bolivar*, equivalent to \$0.19 in United States currency. The monetary system is based on a gold standard and issues of paper money are expressly prohibited by the constitution.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO

The most recent of the federal constitutions in Latin America is that of Mexico, adopted in 1917. It displaced the constitution of 1857. Compared to the Constitution of the United States the present constitution of Mexico confers larger powers upon the federal government. For instance, the federal government is specifically given the power to legislate on all matters pertaining to mining, commerce, and institutions of credit

(Art. 73, X). The Senate has the power to intervene in the affairs of the states whenever such intervention is made necessary by disputes between states (Art. 76, V). State governors

Powers of the Federal
Government Over
the States

and members of the state Legislatures are subject to impeachment by the Federal House of Representatives for violation of the federal laws and the constitution. The federal constitution is also very specific in prescribing the form of state governments (Art. 117), prescribing the qualifications for state governors and the number of representatives in state Legislatures.

Citizenship is enjoyed by Mexican males over twenty-one years of age, or, if married, over eighteen, provided they have an honest means of livelihood. Positions in the army and navy are open only to Mexicans by birth, while the officers of

Articles Regarding
Aliens

the merchant marine and two thirds of the crews must likewise be native born. Aliens may be expelled by the president without judicial process, if deemed undesirable. Unless they agree to become Mexican citizens in respect to their property, aliens may not own concessions of lands, waters, or mineral fuels, and they may not invoke the protection of their governments in respect to the same, under penalty of forfeiture. Aliens are expressly prohibited from land ownership. Ministers of all religious creeds in Mexico must be Mexicans by birth.

The constitution contains a Bill of Rights with the usual guarantees; among them is that of the freedom of religion. Article 27 provides that churches shall not have the right to acquire or hold real property. The constitution also specifies that the nation has the right to limit private property, and in order to develop small holdings large estates may be divided.

Restrictions on Owner-
ship of Land and
Subsoil Wealth

Monopolies of all kinds are forbidden except government monopolies, such as postal service, coinage of money and telegraph and radio service. Exemption from taxation is likewise prohibited by the constitution. The constitution contains the provision that the nation retains ownership in all subsoil wealth, as minerals and fuels, and will determine under what conditions they are to be extracted. This last provision was the cause of long discussion

concerning the rights of foreign capitalists, especially those of the United States, who had previously secured control of oil lands.

The "President of the United Mexican States" is the official title of the Mexican chief executive. He is elected by popular vote, holds office for four years, and is disqualified for re-election. No clergyman of whatever creed may be president, and military officials and secretaries of executive departments may only qualify for that office by resigning their previous position at least ninety days before the election. There is no vice-president, and in case of a vacancy Congress fills the office *ad interim* and a new election is at once ordered. These provisions are for the purpose of discouraging dictatorships and revolutions. There

**The Mexican
Executive**

are seven executive departments: Interior, Foreign Affairs, Treasury, War, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor; and Public Works.

The secretaries are required to report the condition of their departments to Congress at each regular session. All acts of the president must be countersigned by a minister, though the secretaries are responsible to the president and may be removed by him at will.

The legislative branch of the Mexican government is made up of two houses, a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. Both deputies and senators are chosen by direct vote, the deputies for a term of two years and the senators for four years. There are two senators from each state and two from the federal district, while there is one deputy for every 60,000 inhabitants or fraction greater than one third. Each branch exercises

**The Legislative Branch
of the Mexican
Government**

certain special functions; the Chamber of Deputies having particularly the sole right of initiating legislation dealing with taxes, loans, and other money matters or the raising of troops. Functions exercised by the Mexican Senate, aside from assisting the president in his appointments and treaty-making power, are the "authorization of the ordering of national troops beyond the territory of the republic or of the presence of foreign troops on the territory of the republic or of foreign ships of war for more than one month in Mexican waters and of removing

the national guard of any state or territory beyond its limits." As in other Latin American constitutions there is a permanent Congressional Committee made up of fifteen deputies and fourteen senators who share with the executive the control over the executive departments during a Congressional recess.

The Mexican federal judiciary consists of a supreme court of eleven members chosen by Congress; circuit courts and a district court in every state. The judges of the circuit and district courts are chosen by the supreme court. All federal judges hold office for life or good behavior and may be removed only by impeachment.

Mexico has maintained the gold standard since 1905. The unit of value is the peso, its value being \$0.498 in United States money.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE GOVERNMENT OF LATIN AMERICA: THE CENTRALIZED REPUBLICS

THE centralized republics of Latin America are Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Uruguay, and Paraguay in South America; the six Central American republics, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama; and the three island republics, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Cuba may be classed as a federal republic, though for purposes of grouping it would seem to belong here. The centralized republics are as a whole relatively small in territorial extent or have a comparatively small population, and therefore they do not possess a natural basis for the adoption of the federal principle.

It will be impossible in the limits of this chapter to discuss fully the governments and constitutions of these sixteen republics; it is not necessary to do so for an understanding of this type of Latin American government. We plan, therefore, to give chief attention to the more important and progressive of these centralized republics.

THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF CHILE

The most important and progressive of the centralized republics is Chile, and her constitution is the oldest in Latin America, having been promulgated in 1833.

Chile is divided into twenty-three provinces and one territory, Magallanes at the southern tip of the continent. The provinces are divided into eighty-two departments and at the head of each department is an official known as an *intendent*, appointed by the president for a term of three years. The departments are divided into nine hundred and one subdelegations; and these into three thousand two hundred and twenty-eight districts. There are other appointive officials below the *intendent*, and

altogether Chile has a very highly centralized government. In this, of course, lies the chief distinction between the centralized and federal republics.

The president of the Chilean republic must be a native-born citizen, thirty years of age. He holds office for five years and is not eligible for re-election. His election is indirect, through an elaborate electoral system. Chile elects no vice-president, though in case of temporary disability the secretary of the interior becomes vice-president, and if the president is permanently incapacitated, a new election is ordered. The president

The Executive has the veto power and may introduce measures into Congress. He, of course, exercises large powers in his appointment of *intendents* and *governors*, and the police power of the country and the control of public institutions are under his supervision. The president is assisted by a Cabinet made up of six ministers, and all of his acts must be countersigned by the proper minister. Besides the Cabinet there is a Council of State made up of eleven members, three chosen by the Senate, three by the Chamber of Deputies, while five are selected by the president, though his choice is limited to a judge of the supreme court, a high church official, a chief of the Treasury Department, a military or naval chief, and someone who has served in a high civil office. This body is presided over by the president, and assists him in an advisory capacity.

As we have noticed, in the course of the history of Chile the parliamentary system came into vogue. In this respect the Chilean government closely resembles that of France. This system has led to frequent changes in the ministries, though since the changes in the constitution in 1925 the government has been somewhat stabilized by making the ministers responsible to the president rather than to Congress.

The legislative branch of the Chilean government is called the National Congress, composed of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Both senators and deputies are elected by direct popular vote, the senators for a term of six years, deputies three. There is one deputy for every thirty thousand inhabitants or major fraction thereof, while there is one senator for

every three deputies. The principle of cumulative voting has been adopted in the elections of deputies and senators, each voter being allowed to cast as many votes as the department in which he resides is entitled to deputies. The same method

is also used in the election of presidential electors. The deputies do not receive any compensation for their services and they may not hold any lucrative public employment during the period of their term, or for six months thereafter. A deputy must be an active citizen with an annual income of 500 pesos; a senator must be thirty-six years of age with an annual income of 2,000 pesos. Senators also serve without pay.

The powers of the National Congress are enumerated in great detail. The process of legislation has some peculiarities which may be noted. The president may introduce measures into Congress by presidential message; bills passed in one chamber, but rejected in the other, are sent back to the first chamber, and if again passed by a two-thirds majority, the second chamber cannot reject them again unless by a two-thirds vote. Pocket vetoes of bills have been made impossible by the regulation that if the president has not approved or vetoed a bill and the adjournment of Congress has not given him the usual time for such consideration, he must present the bill with his objections within six days after the opening of the next session. To amend the constitution the president or a member of either

**Powers of Procedure
of the National
Congress**

body may introduce the proposal, providing there is an absolute majority of the members present. After an amendment is passed by both chambers the president may not veto it outright, but he may propose corrections or modifications. Each amendment must be ratified by Congress in the first session after the next congressional election, the president being required to call public attention to the fact that the new Congress will be charged with the duty of ratifying the amendment.

Like several others of the Latin American constitutions, the Chilean provides for a permanent legislative committee, made up of fourteen members, seven from each chamber. These members are elected before the close of the congressional

session and they are to hold office until Congress again convenes. Their special function is to watch over the observance of the constitution and the laws. It acts as the Senate in approving or disapproving appointments or removals and it may call Congress to meet in extraordinary session upon its own motion. It is responsible to Congress for its acts, to whom it must render an account at its first session.

**The Legislative
Committee**

The judiciary of Chile is composed of a supreme court at Santiago of seven members; seven appellate courts; while in each department is a court of first instance, and in the districts are subordinate justices. Trial by jury is limited to cases where liberty of the press has been abused.

THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF PERU

We have been considering the oldest of the Latin American constitutions; let us now turn to a consideration of the most recent—that of Peru.

Republican government in Peru has always suffered from “presidential absolutism,” and this is true to-day, even under the new constitution. The president is elected by direct popular vote, and until the constitution was amended could not be re-elected. He must be a native Peruvian, thirty-five years of age, an active citizen, and must have lived ten years in the republic. He serves a term of five years, and, according to the amendment, may be re-elected for a single successive term.

There is no vice-president. The office may become vacant in several ways, and when this occurs the Council of Ministers governs until a new president is chosen by Congress. He may not be impeached during his term of office except for treason.

**The Office of
President**

The powers of the Peruvian president are very extensive, not alone because the constitution grants him broad powers, but also because custom, prestige and general conditions in Peru make it very easy for a strong man to be practically a Czar. The constitution enumerates his powers under twenty-one different heads, and they comprise legislative, executive,

administrative, diplomatic, political, and military duties. Besides the usual political appointments the president of Peru appoints the chief ecclesiastical officials. He

Executive Powers

is assisted in his administrative duties by seven ministers, who head the departments of Interior, Foreign Affairs; Justice, Worship, and Instruction; Finance, War, Navy, and Public Works. All presidential orders and decrees must be countersigned by a minister before they are legal. The ministers besides performing the duties pertaining to the management of their departments are also a Cabinet, or Council, to advise the president. The constitution states that no minister shall continue in office against whom either chamber has passed a vote of lack of confidence. Ministers may attend the meetings of Congress and may introduce bills, but they may not be present when a vote is taken. Besides the Council of Ministers the constitution provides for a Council of State, to consist of seven members nominated by the ministers and approved by the Senate, but with rather loosely defined duties.

The legislative power is vested in a Peruvian National Congress made up of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The number in each body is determined by the constitution, and a change can be made only by amending. The one hundred and ten members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected by direct vote for five years. The Senate contains thirty-five members elected in the same manner as deputies. Neither deputies nor senators may resign until after re-election for a second term.

The Legislative Branch of the Peruvian Government

The powers of the Congress are enumerated under twenty-five heads. These enumerated powers constitute a limitation on those of the president. Legislation may be introduced by members of Congress, by the president, by the regional Legislatures, or by the supreme court, in judicial matters. The process of legislation is quite similar to that in Chile. To amend the constitution amendments must be introduced in a regular session, and require a two-thirds vote in each house, in a second session. No popular ratification of amendments is required. The new constitution did away with the permanent legislative committee.

For purposes of administration Peru is divided into three

regions, twenty departments, two littoral provinces; while the departments are divided into one hundred and thirteen provinces, and the provinces into nine hundred and thirty districts. The heads of the departments are appointed by the president and are called prefects and each department has its locally elected council. The heads of the provinces are called subprefects, who are responsible to the prefects. The provinces also have their elected council.

Local Government

A new provision of the constitution of 1920 was the creation of three regional assemblies which have jurisdiction over local matters. Their acts, however, are subject to the approval of the president, and he is also responsible for their enforcement. If the president vetoes any measure passed by a regional assembly, Congress may enact it over his veto.

There is a supreme court consisting of eleven judges and three solicitors-general. These are elected by Congress from a list of ten times the number to be selected, submitted by the president. The judges are selected for life and must be of Peruvian birth and at least forty years of age, and must have practiced law for twenty years, and must have served at least five years as judges or attorneys of some superior court. Besides the supreme court there are superior courts in the capitals of each of the twenty departments, courts of first instance in each of the provinces and justices of the peace in every town.

The Judiciary

The present constitution of Peru is particularly notable for its social guarantees, which represents a new departure in constitution making in Latin America, similar to that found in the Mexican constitution of 1917 and the constitution of Uruguay of 1919. Monopolies and trusts are forbidden; free and compulsory education for all children over six years of age is guaranteed; foreigners may not hold real property within a certain distance of the frontiers, while all mineral property is vested in the state. Freedom of association and contract is recognized, and for the first time the government has recognized its duty toward the native population, by stating that develop-

Social Guarantees of the Constitution

ment and progress of the native race are recognized as the duties of the state. The constitution declares that the nation professes the Roman Catholic religion and the state protects it. The constitution of 1860 prohibited the exercise of any religion other than the Catholic; this provision, however, is omitted in the present constitution.

THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF URUGUAY

The present constitution of Uruguay went into effect on March 1, 1919, superseding the constitution of 1830. It is, therefore, one of the most recent of Latin American constitutions. The principal change made in the constitution by the recent revision was the separation of church and state, the Roman Catholic Church being no longer recognized as the state religion. The government was also somewhat decentralized, providing for the direct election of representatives as well as the president. Previously the president was elected by the Assembly, while complete executive power was vested in him. The new constitution provides for a National Council of Administration which divides executive power with the president. This board, or council, consists of nine members, elected by popular vote for a term of six years, and is something unique among Latin American governments.

As stated above, the president is chosen by direct vote, for a term of four years, and eight years must elapse before he can again become a candidate. The president directs the affairs of the Interior, Foreign Relations, War and Marine, while the National Council of Administration directs the departments of Finance, Public Instruction, and Public Works. The National Council has jurisdiction over the holding of national elections and the electoral laws. The National Council exercises the same power in its sphere that the president exercises in his. Uruguay thus has virtually a plural executive.

The Executive Power;
The President and the
National Council of
Administration

The legislative power is invested in a General Assembly, consisting of two houses, the Chamber of Representatives and the Chamber of Senators. There are ninety representatives,

chosen for a term of three years, while there are nineteen senators, one for each department into which the republic is divided. Senators are chosen by an electoral body in each department, which is chosen by direct vote.

The Legislative Power

The president and the National Council exercise a veto power over legislation, though if they do not agree in disapproving a measure a majority of votes in a joint session will repass it.

The judges of the supreme court of Uruguay are chosen by the General Assembly for life or good behavior. They are five in number. The high court of justice has supervision

The Judiciary

over all the other courts and judges of the republic. Each of the nineteen departments has a lower court, while there are two appellate courts consisting of three judges each, who are appointed by the high court, with the approval of the Senate.

Under the new constitution the departments are given a considerable degree of self-government. Each has a representative assembly and a board of administration, both elected by popular vote. The chief of police of each department,

Local Government

however, is paid by the central government, is appointed and dismissed by the president, and is therefore subordinate to him. He must be a resident of the department and is appointed from a list prepared by the National Council of Administration.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF BOLIVIA, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR AND PARAGUAY

Bolivia has had ten constitutions, the present one dating from 1880. The executive power is vested in a president and vice-president, elected by a direct popular vote for four years, who are not eligible for immediate re-election. There is a Cabinet consisting of six ministers: Foreign Relations and Worship, Interior and Justice, Finance, Public Works and Industry, War and Colonization, Education and Agriculture. The legislative branch of the government consists of a National Congress made up of two chambers, Deputies and Senate, elected by direct vote of the people. There are sixteen senators,

two from each department, while there are seventy-two deputies. The senator holds office for six years, the deputy for four. There is a supreme court consisting of seven members chosen by the Chamber of Deputies. The country is divided into departments, provinces, cantons, and municipalities, each presided over by an appointive official, and each subordinate to the official next higher up.

**The Government of
Bolivia**

The present constitution of Colombia dates from 1886, though it was amended in 1905 and again in 1910. The president of Colombia is elected by direct vote of the people and holds office for four years. He is assisted by eight ministers who countersign all the presidential acts. The legislative branch of the government consists of a House of Representatives and a Senate. The members of the House are chosen by direct vote for a term of two years, while the senators are elected by an electoral body chosen by the assemblies of the departments. A supreme court is at the head of the judicial system of the republic, consisting of nine members, five of whom are chosen by the House of Representatives and four by the Senate. For purposes of local government Colombia is divided into fourteen departments, three territories and seven districts. At the head of each department is a governor appointed by the president, and each department has an elective assembly.

**The Government of
Colombia**

The present constitution of Ecuador dates from 1906. It provides for a president to be elected by direct vote who cannot be re-elected until after a lapse of two terms, or eight years. There are a Cabinet of five members, appointed by the president, and a Council of State, representing Congress when it is not in session. The Congress consists of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, both elected by direct vote. A supreme court of five members is chosen by Congress for a term of six years. The republic is divided locally into provinces, cantons, and parishes. At the head of each are officials all appointed by the president.

**The Government of
Ecuador**

The present constitution of Paraguay was adopted in 1870, though it has been since amended. The president is elected

for a term of four years by indirect vote of electors, who are chosen by direct popular vote. There are five ministers in the president's Cabinet, who are appointed and removed by him. The Paraguayan Congress consists

**The Government of
Paraguay**

of two chambers—a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies—both chosen by direct vote.

Senators are chosen for a term of six years, deputies for four years. The judicial authority is vested in a supreme court, two appellate courts, and several local courts. The republic is divided into departments and the departments into municipalities, each of which has an appointive head and an elective council.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN AND ISLAND REPUBLICS

The government of the Central American states follows the centralized system. The various republics are divided into departments, at the head of which are governors, appointed by the central government. With the excep-

**Governments of the
Central American
States**

tion of Nicaragua, the legislative power is vested in a single chamber elected by the

people. Each republic has a president elected by direct vote, who holds office from four to six years. Like all the other Latin republics, the three departments of government are distinctly divided into executive, legislative, and judicial.

The two republics on the island of Haiti are also centralized states. Each has a legislative assembly composed of two houses, a president with a cabinet, and a supreme court.

Haiti is divided for local administration into five departments, while Santo Domingo has twelve provinces. The government of Cuba

**Governments of the
Island Republics**

is modeled after that of the United States, and is the only one of the small republics which has a federal form of government, though, strictly speaking, it is a combination of the centralized and federal forms. The Cuban province is less important than the state of the American Union. The president is elected by electors; Congress has two houses; justice is administered by courts of various grades, as in the United States. Cuba has

six provinces, each of which elects its own governor, though the president may interfere, if necessary, in the local government, such interference being subject to a review of the courts.

READING REFERENCES

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CHAPTER XXIV

RACES AND SOCIETY IN PRESENT DAY LATIN AMERICA

THE PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA

THE race composition in Latin America has been much misunderstood. Many still think of Latin Americans as largely of European stock. But the people of South America are not properly described as of European stock, for by far the largest proportion of the population inhabiting the

various countries of Latin America are of native stock. The mixing of the Spaniards and Portuguese with the native Indian population began with the colonization period and has continued without interruption until the present. Hence there is a very large half-breed or mestizo class, which is particularly dense in those sections of Latin America where the early colonizers came in contact with a comparatively high type of native civilization. So we must expect to find the largest number of mestizos in the western coast republics of South America and in Central America and Mexico, for it was here the Spaniard came in contact with Aztec and Inca civilizations.

Besides this large half-breed class there are many full-blooded Indians still to be found in Latin America. Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, as well as Brazil, have large numbers of full-blooded Indians living within their borders. At least thirty-five per cent of Mexico's population are of this class, while Peru has sixty per cent. In Ecuador at

least two thirds of the population are Indian, in Bolivia more than half, while Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela have from fifteen to twenty per cent Indians. The east coast countries of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay have a smaller proportion, though Brazil has perhaps the largest number of wild Indians. Brazil's proportion is not

more than ten per cent, while Argentina has not more than ten thousand all told, and Uruguay has a still smaller proportion. The total Indian population in South America has been recently estimated at ten millions. This does not include the Indians of Mexico and Central America.

Besides these two large classes in the population of Latin America, there is in Brazil especially a large Negro population, both full-blooded and mixed, amounting to at least twenty per cent of the whole. The mixture of the Indian with the Negro is known as the *zambo*, and is found in Brazil and Venezuela particularly. The presence of these large classes of ignorant people in the Latin-American states accounts for their lack of stability in government. When we know of the prevalence of the Indian in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico, we are prepared for the statement that these are the most backward of the Latin-American states.

In all the republics it is the small white population which rules. In considering this class we must first of all remember that they are themselves a complex race and that they have certain Oriental characteristics. They are full of imagination; far more so than the North American. They are likewise much more sentimental and impulsive. They have high ideals, which they seldom succeed in putting into practice. They are an exceedingly polite race, and even the poorest peon is a gentleman toward others. In this respect the Latin American has much to teach the North American. Men embrace when they meet or part, and their family life is most affectionate. They care little for money for money's own sake, and express contempt for those who exalt the dollar above everything else, as many in this country seem to do. Human life is held cheap among them, due to their long contact with subject races, over whom they have always exercised power of life and death. They are generous toward their friends, but they seem to have little regard for the public good. The Latin American responds quickly to anything said or done which shows appreciation of his country and its ways, but resents criticism which

Characteristics of the
Ruling Race in Latin
America

comes from those whom he considers no farther along in civilization than himself.

Judged by the North American, the moral standards of the South American are low. In those South American states where the Indian races are in the majority moral standards are liable to be drawn from the Indian and not from the European stock. The Indian or half-breed mother gives to her child her own moral standard rather than that of the white father. Marriage is ignored to an alarming extent in South

America. In Lima fifty-one per cent of the children born are illegitimate, and this percentage, while not the same throughout all

of the republics, is nevertheless very large everywhere. One of the reasons given why the young men of South America are so much occupied with sex thoughts is that they have so little to do. They have no athletics, games, or even business, to occupy their attention. As a consequence family life is not developed. There is very little marriage among the Cholos of Bolivia, which is true also of the Indians in all of the west coast countries. Another of the weaknesses of the South American is alcoholism, which is said to be the worst in the world in Chile. The Indians especially are hard drinkers, though this is not so true of the people of the east coast countries.

The weak points in the character of the South American may be summed up in these words—mutual distrust, excessive pride, self-indulgence, indolence, and want of persistence. Mutual distrust is found everywhere. One of the reasons for the turbulence which prevails in the political life of the Latin Americans is their distrust of the motives of others. They seem almost

incapable of working together in a common work for the common cause. Joint stock companies often fail for this reason. One political party has no faith in the motives or principles of the other. There is no such thing as student activities in the universities, no university spirit, no class feeling, no fraternities. This mutual distrust is carried into every phase of life, and is one of the weaknesses most difficult to overcome, for

Morals of the Latin
Americans

Character of the
Latin Americans

without faith of people in one another it would be impossible to develop modern business or stable government.

Among the people of pure white blood every form of bodily exercise is avoided, and for this reason there is a great poverty of physique among both males and females. Girls are taught nothing about housekeeping, while the young men idle away their time. The South American seems to have no shame about giving up. They are good beginners but poor finishers, and the sneer of "quitter" is never heard. A recent traveler in South America has noted the great number of unfinished monuments in Bolivia, an indication of this characteristic, or rather failing, of the Latin American.

The mestizo, the result of the mixture of the white and Indian races, tends to increase the most rapidly, while the pure-blooded Indian is on the decrease. Physically the mestizo is undersized, smaller than either of the races from which they have sprung. They are a Spanish-speaking people and nominally Christian, but they are superstitious, and in most cases

The Mestizos

extremely apathetic. In spite of their backward condition, however, there are many who consider the mestizo as the coming race in Latin America, especially in the west coast region, and the development of these countries seems to depend largely upon the development of this half-breed race. The proportion of mestizos in the various republics is as follows: Mexico, 50 per cent; Peru, 30; Brazil, 30; Ecuador, 25; Bolivia, from 30 to 40; Colombia, 40; Venezuela, 70; Chile, 60; while Argentina and Uruguay have the smallest proportion, only a small fraction of their respective populations belonging to this class.

Ranking lowest in the social scale come the Negro and zambo, the latter the result of the mixing of the Indian and the Negro races. Ecuador and Peru have a few thousands of this class, while Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil have a much larger

The Negro Element

number. In Colombia thirty-five per cent of the population is represented by the Negro and the mixtures of Negroes with other races. Venezuela has perhaps a ten-per-cent Negro population, while in Brazil the Negro element is larger and more important than in any of the

Latin American states. This is due to the fact that slavery continued to exist in Brazil longer than in any of the other states, and also to the fact that race mixture has gone on there with less hindrance from the beginning.

Latin America as a whole has many races and many castes, and to procure the best results in a republic unity of race, language, and ideals must somehow be achieved. So far Latin America has been governed by the pure white race, while the Indian and the mestizo have been practically serfs. Meanwhile the mestizo has gone on increasing, while the Indian is decreasing. The future of at least the largest number of Latin-American states seems to lie with the mestizo.

The present population of the various Latin-American states is as follows: Brazil is the most populous, with nearly 25,000,000 people; coming next to Brazil in point of population is Mexico, with from 15,000,000 to 17,000,000; Argentina ranks third, with an estimated population of between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000; Chile's population is 3,819,096; Peru's is estimated at from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000, while the populations of Bolivia and Ecuador approach 2,000,000 each; like most of the other Latin-American states, the populations of Venezuela and

Colombia can only be estimated, as there has been no careful census in either country in recent years; Colombia's population cannot exceed 4,000,000, while that of Venezuela is not more than 2,750,000. Uruguay has 1,603,000 people, while Paraguay has something less than 1,000,000. The total population of the Central American states does not exceed 5,000,000, distributed about as follows: Guatemala, 2,000,000; Honduras, 553,000; Nicaragua, 600,000; Salvador, 1,700,000; Costa Rica, 386,000; Panama, 336,000. Cuba has a population of 2,162,000, while the two republics in the island of Haiti have a population of about 2,000,000 in the Republic of Haiti and 673,611 in the Dominican Republic. The total population of the whole of Latin America is nearly 75,000,000.

EUROPEAN POPULATION

The countries to which most of the European peoples immigrate are Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay. Italians

have come out to South America in great numbers, constituting the largest single contribution in recent years to the pure white population of the three eastern republics. The total immigration into Argentina from 1857 to 1908 was 4,250,000, of whom 1,750,000 were Italians; 670,000 Spaniards; 40,000 British

Foreign Population
and Immigration to
Argentina, Brazil,
Chile, and Uruguay

26,000 Germans; 25,000 Swiss, and 20,000 Belgians. In the state of São Paulo, Brazil, there is a compact colony of over 1,000,000 Italians. Immigration and colonization in

Brazil are increasing. The German population in 1906 was estimated at from 350,000 to 500,000. They were situated mostly in the southern states. In 1911 there were 134,000 immigrants registered in Brazil. Of these 47,764 were Portuguese; 22,820 Italians; 13,900 Russians; 4,220 Turks; 5,850 British, while Spaniards, French, and Swedes number some thousands each. Of the total population of Brazil only seven per cent, however, are foreign. Chile has made considerable effort to secure European immigration. Germans have settled in the southern part of the country, where they have built several important towns and agricultural communities, though the actual number of Germans in the country is not large. In 1895 the foreigners in the Chilean population were not more than 75,000. In 1907 the immigration to Uruguay included 26,000 Italians, 22,000 Spanish, and over 2,000 each of British, Germans, and French.

Mexico's foreign population does not number more than 60,000, with Spaniards the most numerous, and Americans next. Peru and Venezuela have a small foreign population, and in the latter country there are a considerable number of Asiatics, Chinese, and Japanese. One of the most important problems in Latin America is the obtaining of immigrant labor. Argentina and Brazil maintain immigration service, and such inducements are offered as free lodging, food, and medical service for five days, free transportation into the interior, and land at a nominal price. One of the chief obstacles to immigration is the fact that the land along the railroads and about the seaports is held in immense estates, and it is very difficult to obtain small holdings. Chile provides free passage for immi-

grants from European ports, and a free grant of land of ninety-four acres for each head of a family and forty-four additional acres for each son over ten years of age. In addition a loan is obtainable from the government during the first year, as well as other aids. Peru is also very desirous of immigration, but so far promotion of colonization has been left to private enterprise. Mexico also offers inducements for immigrants, such as free transports of immigrants to the interior, as well as free tools, seed, and other helps.

So far the great body of immigrants to Latin American countries has come from the countries of southern Europe, while people from northern Europe have not come out in any great numbers. In 1901 the total number of Italians in South America was about 1,750,000, of which number at least 1,600,000 were in Argentina and Brazil. Present conditions in Latin America are not favorable for immigration from the British Isles or from America for the reason that educated men of small capital will find little opportunity in these countries, unless they receive salaries. The work in shops and stores is done in Latin America by the middle-class natives at a very low wage. The English workman coming to Latin America would be compelled to work among half-breeds, which the average English and American will hardly consent to do. If suitable conditions could be secured for this class of immigration it would no doubt prove greatly beneficial for those countries.

The greatest social problem which confronts Latin-American countries is the uplifting of their working classes. Agricultural and mining labor throughout these countries is made up of half-breeds or Indians. Mexico has 15,000,000 peons—Indians and half-breeds. In Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, and Venezuela the great mass of the population is of this same class, while Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina are little better off in this respect. Part of this problem may be solved by increased education. Until intelligence becomes more widespread real

Problems and
Difficulties of Im-
migration

Unfavorable Con-
ditions for American
and English
Immigration

The Problem of
Uplifting the Working
Classes

democracies are impossible. "The power of a people to help itself and throw off the oppressions of an upper class is in proportion to the stage of its education."

The Spanish colonists were builders of cities, and the cities of Latin America to-day are developed far beyond the country districts. The largest of the Latin American cities is Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, which is the second Latin city in the world. The population in 1925 was 1,850,718. The city is largely built of brick covered with stucco, the architecture being Italian, with an excess of ornament. In many respects Buenos Aires is like Chicago, being the great grain-shipping port of South America. Rosario is the second city in Argentina, situated some one hundred and seventy miles up the Parana, with a population of 250,000. Other Argentina cities, ranging from 30,000 to 90,000 inhabitants, are La Plata, Cordoba, Mendoza, and Tucuman. Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, is also an important shipping point with over 400,000 people and is one of the most pleasing of South American

cities. In many respects the most beautiful city in Latin America is Rio de Janeiro, situated on one of the best harbors in the world, with snow-clad mountains in the background. The population of Rio is over 1,000,000. Other large and important Brazilian cities are Bahia, with some 200,000 people; São Paulo, with 579,000 and Santos, the port of São Paulo. Santiago, the capital of Chile, is the largest city on the western coast, with a population of 400,000. Valparaiso, with a population of 185,000, is the most important port on the Pacific coast in South America, while two hundred miles to the north is Coquimbo, another important Chilean port. The two most important cities in Peru are Lima, with nearly 200,000 people, and Callao, the seaport of Lima, with a population of 50,000. As a commercial center Callao is second only to Valparaiso. Quito and Guayaquil are the two largest cities in Ecuador, the former with 80,000 and the latter with 60,000 people. Bogota, the capital of Colombia, has a population of 120,000, while Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, has a population of 73,000. Mexico City has a population of 633,367, while Guadalajara is the second city in Mexico, with

119,468 people, Puebla 96,121, San Luis Potosí, 85,000 and Monterey, 85,000.

EDUCATION

In colonial times whatever educational facilities existed in the Spanish or Portuguese colonies were under the control of the Roman Church. Such education was based upon dogmatism and obedience and there was no general and popular education, as in the modern sense. The uni-

Early Education

versities were designed to train men for the priesthood, and the whole system was ecclesiastical and aristocratic. Latin America has never entirely broken away from this type of education. A number of the older universities are still under the control of the Roman Church, and in a number of instances the church controls both primary and secondary education.

Most of the leaders in the Latin-American states have recognized the importance of education in the development of their respective countries, and all of the constitutions have made provision for the carrying out of a comprehensive educational program. Recent leaders have realized that popular government can rest only upon popular intelligence, and where ignorance and illiteracy exist real democratic government is impossible. Each government has its min-

Constitutional Provisions for Education

ister of education or a department of education under some other officer. Practically every republic has a system of free compulsory primary education, while some of the more advanced countries have likewise free secondary schools. In most instances the government also maintains certain colleges and universities. On paper these educational systems leave little to be desired, but, like many other things in Latin America, there is a considerable difference between plan and practice. Popular education has never really germinated in Latin America. It has always entered the country by way of the capital and has never become a popular ideal. "It has been introduced by idealists and social reformers; it has never become a popular demand."

The most advanced republics from the educational stand-

point are Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Argentina owes much of her educational advance to the pioneer work of Sarmiento, who became president in 1868, and at once began promoting education. He commissioned Dr. William Goodfellow, an American missionary, to send out American women to establish normal schools, where teachers could be trained. These were loyally supported, and this gave Argentina the lead in educational matters for many years.

In 1920 the school population of the Argentine was 1,766,053, while the attendance enrollment was 1,076,045, and yet thirty-five per cent of the population over seven years of age was illiterate.¹ The cities and large towns have much more efficient schools than in rural districts. There were in 1920 9,268 primary schools; 42 national *colegios*, 33 private *colegios*, 82 normal schools, and 37 special schools, such as commercial and industrial. The federal government has the general responsibility of providing schools, though the control of primary education is divided between the federal and provincial governments. Generally speaking, primary schools are under provincial control, though there is a special law which authorizes the federal government to establish and maintain primary schools where they are requested to do so by the local authorities. Federal schools are, as a rule, better equipped and managed than are the others. Secondary schools are under the control of the minister of education. There are three classes of these schools, namely, national colleges (*colegio nacional*), which prepare in a five year course for the university, and the normal schools (*escuela normal*), which offer a two to four-years course. There are also commercial schools (*escuela superior de comercio*) which are of growing importance.

There are six universities in the Argentine: Cordoba (1613), Buenos Aires (1821), La Plata (1905), the University of the Litoral at Rosario (1920), and the provincial universities at Santa Fe, Tucuman (1912) and Cuyo (1921).

The little republic of Uruguay ranks among the first of the Latin American republics educationally. The number of

Education in
Argentina

¹ Luckey, *Education Systems in Latin America*, pp. 2-4.

children in school in 1922 was 118,102 out of a total population of 1,603,000. Primary education covering the first three grades is free and compulsory, the government furnishing books and supplies. There are eight normal schools and thirty-two secondary schools, which in 1919 had an enrollment of 4,943 pupils. The University of Montevideo had 1,615 students in 1922 with 344 teachers.

**Educational Situation
in Uruguay**

It is estimated that 60 per cent of Chile's population to-day is illiterate, and that 40 per cent of the children of school age are not in school. In 1921 a compulsory education law was passed requiring that children up to the age of twelve shall receive four years of primary education, and also providing for an increased number of primary schools throughout the country. In 1923 there were 3,259 primary schools, 50 secondary schools for girls, 43 secondary schools for boys, 11 secondary commercial schools, and 12 professional schools or faculties of the University of Chile. There are a number of private schools mostly under church control. Besides Catholic schools there are twenty-five schools under Protestant auspices with an enrollment of more than 3,000 pupils. Santiago College in Santiago, a school for girls, is among the best of these institutions. Chile has made commendable progress in education within recent years, there being 50,000 more pupils receiving primary instruction in 1923 than eight years previous, and 12,000 more receiving secondary instruction, and 40 per cent more receiving university instruction.

Education in Chile

According to recent statistics (1922) Brazil has a school population of 3,571,877, while school attendance was but 678,684. This means that 78 per cent of the children of school age are not in school. In 1921 there were 17,295 primary schools, of which 11,342 were state schools, and 2,532 municipal schools, while 3,421 were private schools. There were also 327 normal schools, 25 degree-training colleges and a federal university at Rio de Janeiro. Illiteracy is still very high, averaging 74.6 per cent. School opportunities in Brazil vary with the states. São Paulo maintains the most adequate school system and there 98 per cent of the school population are in

school; the percentage in Minas Geraes is 48 per cent; in the federal district 46 per cent; in Santa Catharina 40 per cent;

**Educational Condi-
tions in Brazil**

in Paraná 30 per cent and in Rio Grande do Sul 16 per cent. The Catholic Church still exercises a large educational influence in Brazil. In the state of Minas Geraes, which contains one fifth of the total population of the nation, there are 38 normal schools. Two of these schools are public with 326 students (1920), 20 were in the hands of laymen with 1,110 pupils; and 16 in the hands of Sisters of Charity with 1,287 pupils. In 1923 there were 95 Protestant schools, most of them controlled by mission boards. These schools had about 8,000 students and 385 teachers. Mackenzie College in São Paulo is the most important of the Protestant schools, and has an enrollment of about 1,500 students. There are in southern Brazil German Lutheran parochial schools with an enrollment of about 20,000.

Mexico has taken great strides educationally since the overthrow of Díaz in 1911. In 1904 there were about 9,000 public schools with 650,000 pupils; in 1923 there were 14,231 primary schools, alone, with 1,187,407 pupils. In 1926 a number of private schools under the control of the Roman Catholic Church were compelled to close. The Obregón and Calles administrations have placed great stress upon the founding of schools and appropriations for educational purposes have greatly increased. In 1923 the expenditure for education amounted to \$24,500,000.

**Educational Condi-
tions in Mexico**

The old University of Mexico ceased to exist in 1865, but in 1910 it was refounded and in 1925 had a student body of more than 6,000.

In the west coast countries and in Colombia, Venezuela and Paraguay education is in a more backward state. Bolivia is a needy and neglected field, especially because of its large and neglected Indian population. In 1922 there were 57,134 pupils in the elementary schools; 3,343 in the secondary schools and 915 students in the Universities of La Paz and Sucre. Conditions in

**Educational Conditions
in Bolivia and Peru**

Peru educationally are somewhat better than in Bolivia, though the 3,000,000 Indians, out of the total population of 5,500,000

(estimate), are sadly neglected. Of the 500,000 school population in 1921 less than half were in school. Peru has four universities, the University of San Marcos at Lima with 1,308 students (1920), and the universities at Cuzco, Arequipa and Trujillo. In 1921 Congress adopted an entirely new program of education for Peru. Twenty-five American educators were secured to direct the educational reorganization, but unfortunately the whole scheme collapsed and a reaction against foreign educators and modern methods has resulted.

Education in Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Paraguay while still backward is making commendable progress. In Ecuador there were in 1924 112,219 pupils in primary schools, 2,218 in the *colégios* or secondary schools, 431 in normal schools, and in the three universities—the Central University in Quito, Guayas University at Guayaquil, and Azuay University at Cuenca—680 students. The chief source of revenue for school purposes comes from the tax on alcohol and the sale of lottery tickets. Since 1924 Colombia has made a vigorous effort to improve its educational situation. In that year a German commission was appointed to advise the government on educational matters and 417,054 pupils were in attendance in the 6,674 primary schools. In 1924 \$2,234,672 was spent for Instruction and Public Health. Colombia has five universities with a total enrollment of 2,226 students. The National

Educational Conditions
in Ecuador, Colombia,
Venezuela and
Paraguay

University in Bogotá dates from 1572. Venezuela in 1924 had 352,337 pupils in primary schools and something more than 25,000 in secondary and special schools. There are two Universities in Venezuela, Central University in Caracas, and the University of the Andes at Merida. In 1924-25 Venezuela spent 4,648,345 Bolívares on education. Paraguay in 1923 had 70,820 pupils in the government primary schools. The *Colégio International*, a missionary institution under the direction of the Disciples of Christ in the United States, is the largest educational establishment in Paraguay.

In the Central American republics primary education is free and compulsory, though lack of funds, public unrest, and lack of public interest have worked against the development of the

schools. Illiteracy in most of the states is very high, being about 75 per cent in Guatemala. The most progressive Central American state educationally is Costa Rica.

Educationally, Latin America labors under many great handicaps. One such handicap is the aristocratic educational tradition. Latin America has educational traditions of long standing, but unfortunately they are traditions of aristocratic rather than democratic education. The schools were for the few and not for the masses, and just that situation prevails to this day, in spite of the fact that theoretically education is compulsory and for all. The finest schools in South America to-day, and there are many of them, are intended for the few and not for the masses. Another of the great enemies of education in Latin America is the great landed proprietor. The proprietor wants the son of the peon to walk in the footsteps of his father, in order that the son may remain in the mud hut on the land. The land is largely held in great tracts, while the people who till the land are dependent upon the owner for school advantages, and in most cases he, of course, makes no effort to provide schools for the children of his peons. Another lack is suitable school-houses. In many instances dwelling houses are used, or old convents or monasteries, which are poorly adapted for school purposes. Suitable teachers are also hard to find. In some instances teachers are being trained in normal schools, but so far the output is far below the demand. Teaching methods are frequently quite crude, the pupils in many places studying aloud, as in China.

Educational Handicaps in Latin America

In a recent book by a Latin American writer South America has been called "The Sick Continent." As the casual visitor walks the streets of the west coast cities, and the Brazilian cities especially, he is struck at once with the large numbers of undersized and sunken-cheeked people he sees. Ninety per cent of the rural population of Brazil and other tropical regions are infested with hook worm. And yet South American countries are by no means devoid of medical skill or sanitary science. In the large cities there are to be found great hospitals and skillful surgeons and health

Health Conditions

authorities fully alive to the great needs of modern sanitation and health service. The great health problem in Latin American countries is not the introduction of modern medical science but, rather, the extending of it to the great neglected masses of the population.

MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

An interesting and important development in Latin America in recent years comes under the head of social movements. These may be gathered under such heads as Social Welfare movements, the Temperance movement, the Feminist movement, Organized Labor, and the Student movement. In the larger cities, particularly, mothers' clubs have been formed, and National Child Welfare organizations are now to be found in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, and Ecuador. Public play grounds have been opened in the cities, while the Boy Scout movement has enlisted over 30,000 members in six republics.

Social Welfare Movements

Girls' Clubs are also coming into existence.

Unfortunately, this work is almost entirely limited to the larger towns and cities, while in the rural districts little has been done in the direction of social welfare work.

The temperance movement is making progress particularly in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Peru. Chile has the reputation for being one of the greatest consumers of alcohol per capita in the world. Numerous societies, largely national in scope, have been formed, such as the *Sociedad Nacional pro Salvación de la Raza*; *Liga Nacional contra el Alcohólicismo*; and *Comisión de Templanza y Estudios Sociales*. Of great significance is the fact that the Workingmen's Federation (*Federación Obrera*) forbids the sale of fermented drinks in all its halls. There

The Temperance Movement

is an organization in Argentina known as the *People's League against Alcoholism*, while in

Uruguay there is a Temperance League, working especially among young men and women. A book on temperance is used in the schools of Peru as a text and in 1912 a National Society of Temperance was formed.

The Feminist movement seems to have made greatest progress in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Peru. There are

several woman's organizations in Chile, such as the (*Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*) National Council of Mothers, made up of the professional women of Santiago, and the *Federación Femenina de Chile*, organized in 1917 among the working class. Argentina also has its National Council of Mothers, as has also

Feminist Movement

Uruguay, while Brazil has an organization known as *A Sociedade para a Emancipação da Mulher Brasileira*. In Peru the National Council of Women was formed in 1924, which is a federation of all the women's associations in the republic. Since 1920 the Young Women's Christian Association has been organized in Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Valparaiso, and Santiago and at several mission schools.

Organized labor has made great advances in Latin America in the last twenty years. In this regard Uruguay seems to have taken the lead. Labor legislation in Uruguay was first enacted in 1914 and additional acts have been passed in 1915, 1919, 1920, and 1921. These acts give protection to labor in various industries. In Chile there is a very strong Workingman's Federation established in 1909, with more than 300,000 members. A Communist party and the Industrial Workers of the World have also established themselves in Chile. In

Organized Labor Movements

Brazil the labor movement is just getting started, though the government has formed a National Labor Council in the Department of Labor. Labor organization in Peru dates from 1894, though the *Union Universal*, as this early organization was called, was largely for the purpose of helping workmen through insurance. In recent years the workmen of Lima have formed a Federation of Labor made up of the several trade unions. In Mexico organized Labor has played a very large part since the overthrow of Díaz, and the Mexican Federation of Labor has been particularly active in politics. The recent administrations (Obregón and Calles) owe their stability largely to the fact that they had the support of organized labor. While organized labor has strengthened the federal government, their political activity has led to many strikes, which have, on the whole, crippled business. In 1922 there were 197 strikes; in 1923,

146; and in 1924, 138, causing a loss of more than \$6,000,000 a year to employers and employees.

Another movement of some importance is the Student movement. This manifested itself in 1918 in Argentina in what is known as the university reform movement. Student federations have been formed, which have advocated certain reforms. These demands are brought to the attention of officials by parades through the streets or by student strikes. Such demonstrations have taken place in Chile and Peru as well as in Argentina. In Cordoba the workingmen went on a sympathetic strike with the students. The students movement is also marked by a growing spirit of internationalism among them.

Student Movements

LATIN-AMERICAN LITERATURE

Since their independence the Latin-American states have developed a rich literature, which is, however, little known among North Americans or Europeans. The literature immediately succeeding the revolutions followed classic models, which in turn gave way to romanticism. One South American summarizes the literature of this period thus: "All things favored romanticism; the political conflicts and the anarchy of the time formed Byronic heroes. . . . Melancholy, exasperated individualism, . . . are reflected in American literature." Among the poets of this period are Car, of Colombia; Andrade, of Argentina; and Salaverry, of Peru. To the Latin-American poet of this period romanticism was not simply a matter of art, but it grew of his own life. Of the poets of this school Andrade stands out as the greatest, and he has been called "the poet of democracy and the Latin Race." In recent years Latin-American literature has been influenced by French models. One such modern poet is Ruben Dario, of Nicaragua, who has been termed one of the greatest lyric writers of all time in the Spanish language. Other modern poets and novelists are Fufino Blanco Fombona, of Venezuela; Ricardo Rojas, of Argentina; Clementé Palma and Ricardo Palmer, of Peru. The essay and the short story have become popular forms of literary expression in Latin America. Such essayists are Manuel

Ugarte, of Argentina, and José Enrique Rodó, of Uruguay. The novelists and short-story writers have rich and subtle vocabularies, and an artistic sense which gives them a flavor quite their own. In recent years South Americans have begun to interpret their own history and ideals. The brilliant books of F. Garcia-Calderón of Peru, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress*; and *The Two Americas*, by ex-President Reyes, of Colombia, are examples. One of the most erudite scholars of the world is José Toribio Medina, of Santiago, Chile, who is the author and editor of more than three hundred different works.

The most important newspaper center in Latin America is Buenos Aires. The principal daily newspapers are, *La Prensa*, *La Nación*, *La Argentina*, and *La Mañana*, though there are more than 500 regular publications. The oldest newspaper in Chile is *El Mercurio*, which was established in 1827. There are in Chile nearly five hundred periodical publications, more than a hundred of which are published in Santiago. In Mexico the press has played a considerable part since 1884. In this year the first newspapers were sold on the streets of Mexico City, and since that time they have taken on the character of modern dailies. The cities of Brazil are also well supplied with newspapers. The first number of the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* appeared in 1808. Daily newspapers are to be found in all the more important cities throughout Latin America, and weekly newspapers are to be found in many of the smaller towns.

Latin American
Newspapers

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN LATIN AMERICA

From the first Latin America has been devoutly Roman Catholic. As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, one of the chief motives of the Spanish and Portuguese colonization and conquest of Central and South America was religion. Queen Isabella was particularly interested in the conversion of the Indians, and this duty was continuously urged upon the discoverers and explorers. The expeditions of every important explorer carried priests; at every opportunity native temples were turned into Christian churches, mass was said, and the

RACES AND SOCIETY IN LATIN AMERICA

natives were induced to be baptized by the whole-sale religious names which are found everywhere in Latin America

Introduction of
Christianity into Latin
America

a testimony to the religious fervor of the early explorers and conquerors. Representatives of the religious orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans, as well as secular priests, came out in large numbers. After the organization of the Jesuits they became active in missionary work, achieving their greatest successes in Brazil and Paraguay. The Catholicism brought to America was, of course, the Spanish and Portuguese type. At the beginning of the colonial period Spain had just passed through a Catholic revival; the church had been thoroughly cleansed and rendered especially efficient. The Inquisition had also been established just a few years before Columbus made his first voyage and enthusiasm for religion had become one of the chief Spanish traits.

The methods used in converting the Indians have not served to make of them real Christians. Too often the missionaries were satisfied with simply a nominal acceptance of Christianity on the part of the natives and no adequate effort was made to instruct them in the principles of Christianity. Too often also the Spanish conqueror imposed his religion on the natives by force and to-day the religion of the natives of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador impresses the traveler as "a timid and superstitious submission, without confidence and zeal." As a result of these methods

How the Missionaries
Converted the Indians

the Indian in South America to-day is a nominal Christian only, while at heart he is still a pagan. He still worships images made of clay, while in time of drought he worships lakes, rivers, and springs. When frost threatens he adores the stars, lights bonfires, and buys masses. He still consults the future by opening animals and inspecting the entrails, just as the priests were doing when Cortés entered the Aztec capital. Every village has its chapel, where abides the patron saint, and every year there is celebrated a great eight-day feast in honor of the saint, in which drunkenness, dancing, and carousal are the chief features.

The type of piety seen commonly in Latin America strikes

Ugarte, more mediæval than modern. There are many wonder-
 The king shrines throughout every Latin American country and
 to these come hundreds of credulous people. Such a shrine is
 to be found in a church at Cordoba, Argentina, and another in
 Santos, Brazil. Following the custom of applying pious names
 to places, begun by the early discoverers, the
 modern Latin American displays such signs as
 "Butcher Shop of the Holy Spirit," "Furniture Shop of the
 Saviour." A certain bottling house in Peru calls its product
 "Jesus Water," while on a certain Good Friday a magazine
 came out with a picture advertising a brand of cigarettes, show-
 ing Christ in the foreground, and Judas and others in the back-
 ground, all smoking that particular brand of cigarette. Judas
 is remarking, "If I had had such cigarettes to smoke, I wouldn't
 have betrayed Him." As a whole the Catholic Church in
 Latin America has little to resemble the same church in the
 United States and there seems little chance of things improving
 until education and intelligence become much more common
 than at present. The worship of the Virgin is a prominent
 feature of Latin American Roman Catholicism; especially is
 this true on the west coast. Images of the Virgin are much in
 evidence, as for example in Santiago, Chile, where an impressive
 statue of the Virgin is located on a great hill within the city
 and is illuminated nightly by a mighty searchlight, so that
 it may be seen for many miles around. "Come unto Mary
 all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and she will give you rest,"
 are the words above the entrance to the Jesuit church in Cuzco,
 Peru, calling attention to all entering worshipers to the efficacy
 of the Virgin's intercession.

Bolívar opposed the union of church and state, stating that
 "no religious creed or profession should be prescribed in a
 political constitution;" but in spite of his opposition every
 state when it drew up its constitution declared the Roman
 Catholic Church to be the established church, and outlawed all
 other creeds. It was not long, however, until the Catholic
 Church began to give trouble in the newly organized republics,
 and in every country parties came into existence opposed to
 the church, or at least opposed to the influence of the church in

RACES AND SOCIETY IN LATIN AMERICA

political affairs. This party generally took the name of the *Liberal Party*, while the church party was called the *Conservative Party*. The question of the taxation of church lands also became a serious problem, and when non-Catholics began to be numerous in several of the republics the question of religious liberty also arose. Agitation finally led to the passage of more liberal laws and to the recognition of other religious bodies, until at the present time either religious toleration or religious liberty prevails in every country in Latin America. Peru and Bolivia were the last countries to grant religious toleration. The Catholic Church fought these liberal tendencies, and the Pope gave his aid, but the trend in the direction of liberal ideas was too strong to be resisted, and such laws as the secularization of cemeteries, civil marriage, and the registration of births and deaths, as well as the recognition of the legality of other denominations besides the Catholic have been passed everywhere throughout Latin America.

Separation of church and state has been brought about, however, only in a few of the republics. Mexico and Brazil have completely separated church and state, while the recent changes in the Chilean constitution declare the Roman Catholic Church no longer the religion of the state. Outside of these three nations, maintenance of public worship is generally recognized as a duty of the state, and the government contributes to the church for that purpose. In Peru the annual sum appropriated by the state for the support of the church ranges from \$25,000 to \$100,000; in Argentina a half million or more is contributed. Besides these sums contributed by

the central governments local authorities make special contributions for special purposes, such as the upkeep of the church and the bishop's residence. In most instances the state makes appropriations for the support of church schools, and aids in the erection of churches. The church in Latin America, especially on the west coast, is a large property owner. In Ecuador one fourth of all the property in the country is held by the bishop; a large percentage of the property in Lima, Peru, is owned by the church,

Religious Liberty in
Latin America

Relation of Church
and State

A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA

The church property in Santiago is estimated as worth \$100,000 in gold.

Roman Christianity in Latin America has been severely condemned by its own members, and recent impartial observers seem to agree that the Roman Catholic Church is not living up to her opportunities in the Latin American republics. A recent traveler and student of Latin America observes, "The only hope of reforming the church in these countries is the spur of Protestant competition" (Ross, p. 310). This may be the chief function of Protestant Christianity in Latin America, for most students seem to agree that Roman Christianity will always make a larger appeal to Latin peoples than does Protestant Christianity.

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CHAPTER XXV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS AND COMMERCE

JUDGED by the economic development of the United States the Latin American states are extremely backward. The people of Spanish and Portuguese races have never been noted for their industry. They have never developed a zeal for manufacturing, nor have they been noted for their trade. The Spaniard of the conquest despised the trader and depended upon the ignorant and downtrodden Indian to perform all of his manual toil. In contrast to the Spanish settler in South America was the typical North American. He was accustomed from the beginning to toil with his hands. He and his sons worked early and late, clearing the fields, sowing the grain, reaping the crops. The descendants of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors, however, have never used their hands in manual toil, and the attitude of the conquerors toward manual labor is still that of the dominant race. These different points of view in respect to toil help to explain the difference in the economic development of the two Americas.

Another factor which has retarded the economic development of Latin America is the fact that there is practically no middle class among the population. It has generally been this class which has built up industry and trade throughout the world. The class coming nearest the middle class in America and Europe is the mestizo, yet he has not reached that stage of development or intelligence which makes possible the direction of industry. Nor has he the capital. The upper classes live in the cities, generally situated along the coast, as they have always done, while the back country has been left undeveloped. Not until a middle class arises in Latin America will conditions in this respect undergo much change. Already in Argentina

a middle class has arisen, with the result that a better economic foundation has been established, which has been reflected in the laws and the government. The same is true to a limited extent in Chile, Uruguay, southern Brazil, and Peru.

Two other factors in the economic progress of Latin America are climate and geography. Both North and South America have broad bulges in the northern parts and taper to a point in the south, "but North America bulges in the temperate zone while South America bulges in the tropics." At least four fifths of South America is in the tropics, and it is undoubtedly true that peoples living within the torrid

**Climate and
Geography and Their
Economic Influence**

zone have not been noted for their economic progress. The most progressive South American states are those in the temperate zone, namely, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and southern Brazil. Nor has nature been kind to South America in its geography. Transportation has been made exceedingly difficult because of the Andes. Travel from coast to coast in North America is comparatively easy but in South America there is one stretch of the Andes two thousand miles long, in which there is not a pass under twelve thousand feet. The Andes are also responsible for the coastal desert, which stretches for fifteen hundred miles throughout Peru and northern Chile. Still, again, nature has not been kind to South America in that she has no adequate deposits of coal. South America is a coal-importing country. Chile, the largest coal-producing district, imports half of its supply from Australia and the British Isles.

In the matter of rivers South America has been better favored. The Amazon and the La Plata are two wonderful systems and are navigable for a much greater distance than the Mississippi. The Amazon, however, drains a tropical country,

**South American
Rivers**

where there has been little economic advance, and the same is also true of the Orinoco and largely so of the La Plata. There are some possibilities for water power on the western coast, but the need of water for irrigation there is so great that it is a question whether both can be adequately supplied. Undeveloped water

power also exists on the eastern coast, but due to the absence of capital it has never been utilized.

The three chief industries of Latin America are agriculture, cattle-raising, and mining. South America is one of the principal food-producing sections of the world, and for that reason is becoming increasingly important. In the production of sugar, cocoa, and coffee Latin America is pre-eminent, while such staples as wheat and meats are also produced in increas-

ing quantities. Cotton, wool, rubber, and leather are also among the agricultural products, while some of the largest untouched

Latin American
Products

forests in the world are to be found here. The mineral wealth of Latin America is enormous, and although mining operations have been carried on for over four hundred years, they are not only not exhausted, but largely undeveloped. Iron deposits are found in Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Mexico; copper in Chile and Mexico; silver in Peru, Bolivia, and Mexico, and gold in the west-coast countries in the alluvial deposits. Cattle-raising is chiefly carried on in Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil while immense flocks of sheep are raised in southern Argentina, Chile, and Tierra del Fuego.

AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE-RAISING

The most advanced Latin American states are those in which agriculture forms the basis of wealth and prosperity. Argentina owes her advance to agriculture and stock-raising. In 1922 the live-stock census showed there were in Argentina 37,064,850 cattle, 36,208,981 sheep, 10,000,000 horses, 3,000,000 hogs, and 6,000,000 mules. In agriculture Argentina has made very rapid advance. The average crop for the years 1920 to 1925 of wheat, corn, oats, and linseed was: wheat, 54,381,113 quintals (100 pounds); corn, 55,224,161; oats, 7,207,985; linseed, 12,557,003. During this period Argentina produced more than half of the world's supply of linseed. Other agricultural products of this fruitful land are alfalfa; cotton, 45,000 tons in 1924-1925; rice, sugar cane, tobacco, potatoes, peanuts, grapes, and olives. During the year 1924 nearly four million cattle and four and a half million sheep were killed in the great slaughtering yards

and over a million tons of meat was exported during the year.

Brazil is the greatest coffee-producing country in the world, and São Paulo the greatest center in Brazil. In 1850 the yield of coffee was 103,000 bags, or about 14,000,000 pounds, while in 1910 the immense quantity of 1,626,310,000 pounds was raised. The average crop is about 12,000,000 bags (135 lbs each). Besides being the greatest producer of coffee, Brazil in

Brazil 1911 raised fifty per cent of the world's output of cocoa, of which 35,000 tons were exported.

Sugar and cotton are also important crops. There are as many as 200 sugar mills in the country with an annual output of 480,000 tons. Rubber grows wild in Brazil, along the Amazon, and forms one of the important products, while in the southern part cattle-grazing is becoming increasingly productive. Other agricultural products, such as mandioca and Paraguayan tea, are raised in large quantities. Since 1910 the Brazilian rubber industry has suffered from foreign competition and the rubber export has steadily fallen, it being in 1924-25 less than half of the output of 1910.

In Uruguay, as in Argentina and Brazil, cattle and agriculture form the greatest source of wealth. The live-stock industry, however, is the chief activity. An estimate of the

Uruguay number of live stock in Uruguay in 1924 was 8,431,000 cattle, 26,000,000 sheep, 500,000

hogs, with thousands of horses, mules, and goats. In 1910 there were nearly 900,000 cattle slaughtered. Uruguay has about 2,000,000 acres devoted to agriculture, and of the products wheat leads, followed by corn, barley, oats, linseed, and bird seed. Tobacco culture has recently been introduced and promises favorable returns.

In 1912 Chile cultivated over 2,000,000 acres of wheat, with an annual average yield of about 25,000,000 bushels. About half the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the value of the

Chile products amounting to \$75,000,000. In the southern part of the country pastoral pursuits are becoming more important. There are about 2,000,000 sheep, 40,000 cattle, 25,000 horses, besides hogs, mules, and



goats. Chilean wine has an excellent reputation, as has also honey.

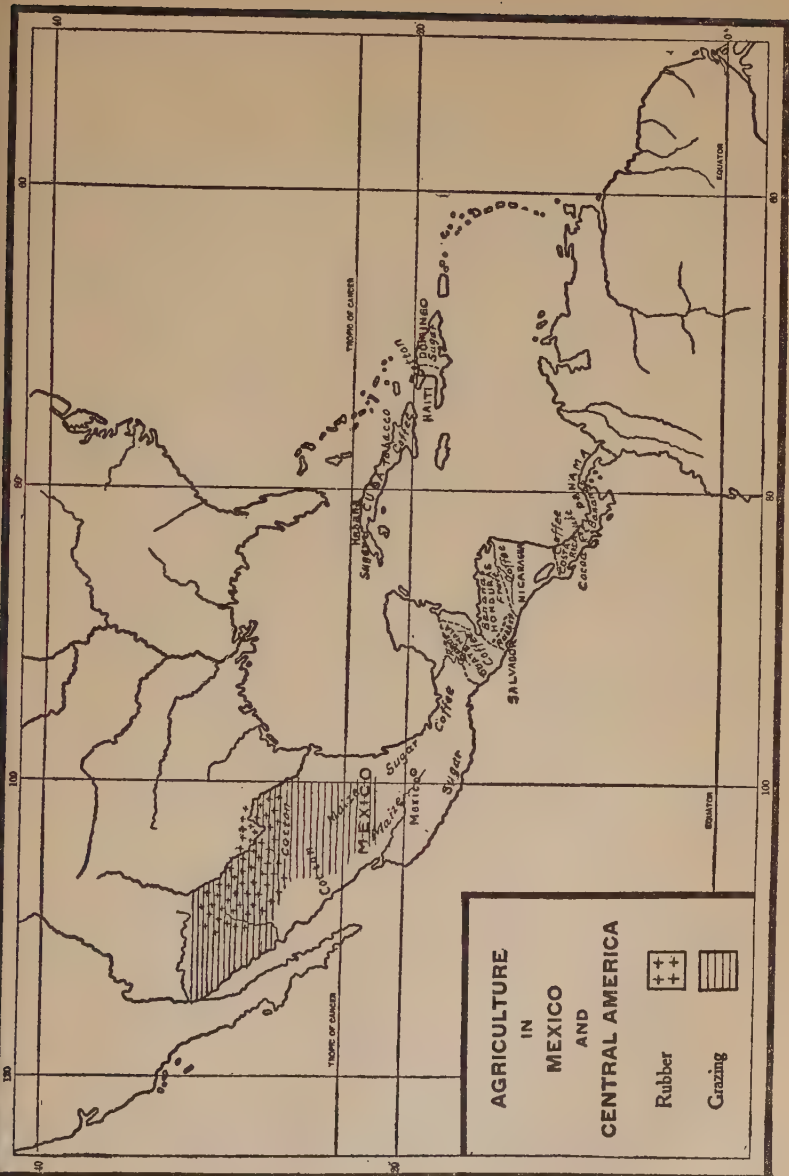
In 1924 Chilean live stock numbered more than 4,500,000 sheep, 2,000,000 cattle, 44,000 mules, 525,000 goats, and 265,000 hogs.

One of the chief crops cultivated in Paraguay is "yerbe mate," or Paraguayan tea, a product peculiar to the country. It takes the place of tea and coffee among a considerable portion of the population of South America. Paraguay is very fertile, though as yet little developed. Corn and mandioca form the principal food of the country, while cattle and hogs are raised in considerable numbers. There is much possibility for fruit-raising also, for the orange grows abundantly, although as yet largely uncultivated. Agriculture is an important source of wealth in both Venezuela and Colombia. In Venezuela over

Agriculture in
Paraguay, Venezuela,
Colombia, Guianas,
Peru, Bolivia, and
Ecuador

200,000 acres are planted in coffee, especially in the northwestern section of the country. Cocoa and tobacco are important crops in both countries, as is also sugar. Rubber and cotton form another considerable portion of

the wealth of these countries. Cocoa is one of the chief crops of Ecuador, where vast cocoa groves are found. Coffee is largely grown for domestic use, the annual crop being estimated at 7,000,000 pounds. Cattle breeding flourishes in Ecuador, Venezuela, and Colombia, and in the uplands sheep are raised for mutton and wool. Rubber yields about 1,000,000 pounds yearly, while the annual output of sugar amounts to some 16,000,000 pounds. The leading crops of Peru are the result of irrigation and are sugar, cotton, and rice. The average annual crop of sugar is 150,000 tons. Peruvian cotton is raised also by irrigation, as many as five pickings being obtained from one planting. Alfalfa, quinine, and potatoes are important products, while cattle- and sheep-raising is carried on in the uplands. The principal agricultural products of the Guianas are sugar, cocoa, coffee, timber, and rum. In Bolivia rubber is the principal agricultural product, while cocoa and coffee are cultivated in the departments of La Paz and Cocha bamba. Cattle, sheep, and llamas are abundantly raised both for food and hides.



AGRICULTURE
IN
MEXICO
AND
CENTRAL AMERICA

- +++ Rubber
- ▬▬▬ Grazing

The great food crop in Mexico is Indian corn and is cultivated in every state. Mexico was the original home of Indian corn. Sugar, cocoa, coffee, and tobacco are other important crops. Sugar culture is confined to the tropical regions and totaled 186,964 tons in 1924. Mexico has four remarkable crops; the *Agava Americana*, known generally as the century plant, from which the native drink, pulque, is made; the *chicle*, from whose sap comes chewing gum; the *guayule*, a shrub which grows in the waste places of Mexico, which is one of the most productive rubber-producing plants; and *henequen*, or sisal hemp, which has yielded great wealth to the henequen planters, who are perhaps the richest class in Mexico. The agrarian reforms

Agriculture in Mexico

under Obregón and Calles, in which many large estates have been made into small farms, have resulted in a decrease in agricultural production. Since 1915 12,000,000 acres has been given to small farmers. In 1924 corn, the chief crop, yielded 106,293,000 bushels; wheat, 13,982,000 bushels; cotton, 138,000 bales (478 lbs.). Cattle, sheep, horses, mules, and goats are raised in large numbers, though there has been a large decrease in live stock since 1902.

The agricultural resources of Central America are abundant. Coffee-raising in Costa Rica and Nicaragua is an important industry. In Guatemala corn is the chief food crop, while coffee and cotton are two of the principal crops raised for export. Fruit culture is becoming increasingly important

Central American Agriculture

for the Central American states, and the export of bananas is especially large in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. The great natural product of Salvador is the balsam tree, though coffee is the chief crop, while corn, cotton, and sugar are also important. In Honduras and Panama bananas, coconuts and sugar are the chief exports. Pearls and tortoise-shells are also exported in considerable quantities.

The chief sources of agricultural wealth in Cuba are sugar, tobacco, coffee, coconuts, and cocoa, though such crops as rice, corn, and fruits, especially the pineapple, citrus fruit, and oranges, are produced in abundance. The sugar industry in Cuba covers the greatest extent of territory and employs the

greatest number of men. In 1925 \$1,500,000,000 of United States capital was invested in Cuba, most of it in sugar. Cuba has long been famous for its tobacco, and millions of cigars and cigarettes are manufactured in the island. The tobacco industry ranks next after sugar in importance. Cattle-raising is of considerable importance in Cuba, there being 4,500,000 cattle on the island in 1925. Cocoa, cotton, and sugar are the principal products of the island of Haiti.

**Agriculture in Cuba
and Haiti**

Mining

The principal source of wealth in Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico is the mines. The chief form of mineral wealth in Chile is nitrate. The nitrate zone in Chile embraces the entire north end of the country, 450 miles long. The nitrate is not found near the coast, but in a barren and waterless plain from fifteen to ninety miles from the sea, and at an altitude of from 3,600 to 13,000 feet. Before the Great War Chile produced more than half of the world's nitrate, but since the war, due to the competition of synthetic products, Chilean export of nitrate has considerably decreased. Chile's output of copper is growing steadily; in 1924 it amounted to 235,000 tons.

Chile and Bolivia

Chile's output of coal is likewise growing rapidly. Bolivia produces almost all the known metals, which are both widely distributed and abundant. In 1925 Bolivia stood second among the countries of the world in the production of tin, and at present tin is the leading product of the republic. Bolivia is one of the three countries of the world producing bismuth, while lead, zinc, copper, antimony, silver, and gold are exported in large quantities. The exploitation of the vast mineral wealth of Bolivia is handicapped by the high altitude of the country and the inadequate transportation facilities.

In Peru copper occupies the chief place among the mineral productions, while the total mineral output of the country is about \$50,000,000. The importance of petroleum is increasing rapidly, as is also the production of coal. In 1921, Mexico produced 28 per cent of the world's petroleum, or 193,397,587

barrels, which was valued at more than \$182,000,000. In 1925 it was estimated that \$350,000,000 of foreign capital was invested in Mexican petroleum concerns.

Peru and Mexico

Lead, copper, zinc, silver, and gold are the chief metals produced in Mexico.

The mineral wealth of Colombia, Venezuela, and the Central American states is likewise considerable. In Colombia gold was mined in the early years of Spanish occupation, and these old Spanish mines still continue to produce. Colombia is also famous for the production of platinum and emeralds. About a million and a quarter of dollars' worth of emeralds have been sold annually for twenty years. Oil production is becoming increasingly important in Colombia, and one company in the Department of Santander was producing in 1925 20,000 barrels a day. Gold, silver, copper, iron, asphalt and salt are among

Colombia, Venezuela,
and the Central
American States

Colombia's important exports. In Venezuela are found copper, coal, iron, and sulphur.

A deposit peculiar to the island of Trinidad and Venezuela is that of asphalt. In the state of Bermudez a lake of this mineral covers a thousand acres, while in Trinidad there is a lake of pure asphalt a mile and a half across. This mineral is finding a wide use in street paving, roofing, etc. The Central America states are also rich in minerals, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and zinc.

LAND, WAGES, AND LABOR

One of the chief causes for the backward economic development of Latin America is the lack of an intelligent laboring class and the unequal distribution of land. Throughout Latin America much of the land is held in immense estates by the white population, many of them the descendants of the original *conquistadores*. Before the revolution of 1910 the largest private estate in the world was the Terraza Hacienda, in Mexico in the state of Chihuahua. It contained 13,000,000 acres and was 200 miles long and 145 miles wide. Chile is completely

The Land Question

governed by the large landed proprietors. These *haciendados* hold large estates in the province of Santiago particularly, while other sections of the

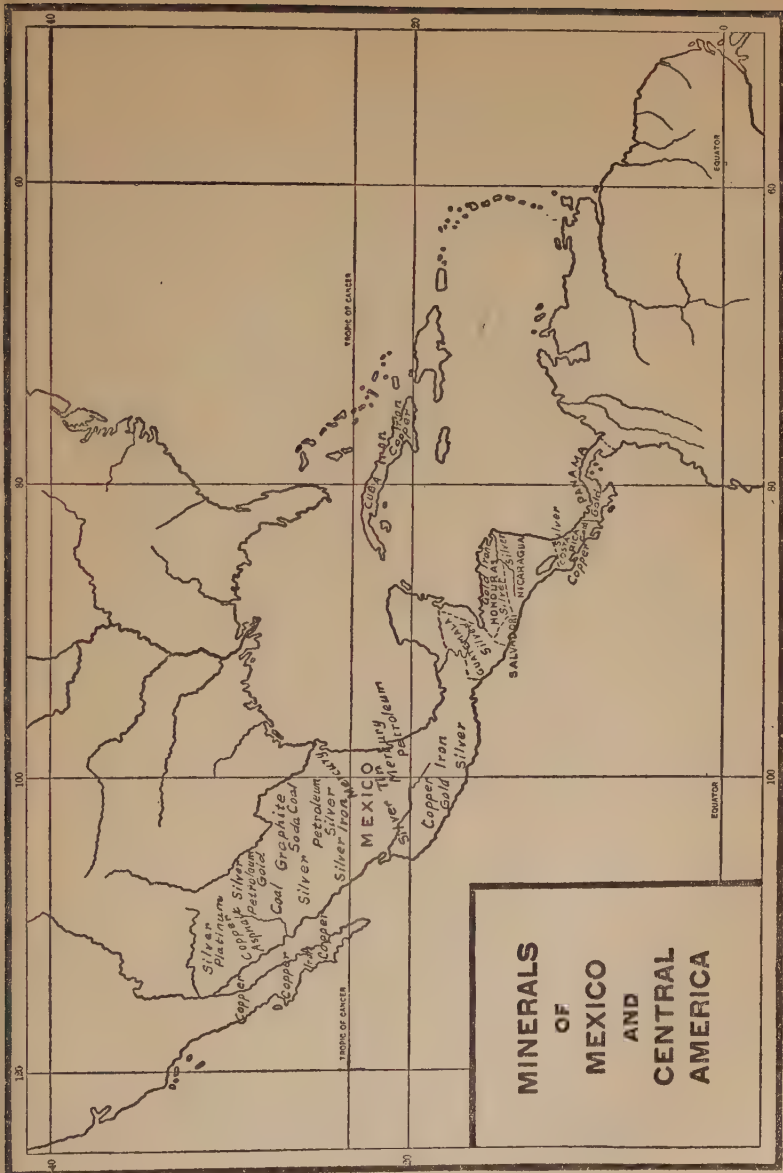


country have been sold in great plots to speculators or capitalists rather than to settlers. While the land situation is perhaps at its worst in Chile, yet in every Latin-American country the same condition, more or less, prevails. A recent investigation of agricultural conditions in Chile showed that 60 per cent of the agricultural lands were owned by 513 proprietors. In Argentina single proprietors own as much as 300,000 to 500,000 acres, while in the territories to the south are holdings of over 1,000,000 acres. In 1903 a new land law was passed in Argentina forbidding the alienation of more than 6,250 acres to a single person. In Mexico as many as a thousand peon families live on the estate of a single proprietor. Conditions in Brazil, Peru, Colombia, and the other republics are little better, and there are few small landholders anywhere in Latin America. The vast majority of the people are absolutely landless.

The proprietors of these vast estates seldom live upon them. In Chile the haciendados have country residences, where the family lives a few months in the year, but the owner and his family spend the greater part of the year in the town. The owners of plantations in Peru, Ecuador, or Colombia ride out from the towns to superintend their farms. The owner thus is compelled to leave much to his overseer, who robs him at every turn, and the soil receives poor attention. It has never been the custom in Latin America for landed proprietors to live on their estates, not even in colonial times.

The leaders in the more progressive Latin American states are keenly alive to the seriousness of the land situation. They realize that this is the basic problem, for until wealth, and especially the land, is more widely distributed, there can be no adequate educational program for any of the republics.

Another factor in the economic backwardness of Latin America is the condition of labor. Since the time of the conquests the semicivilized Indians have labored for the ruling class. To all intents and purposes the Indian and half-breed in most of the Latin American countries are practically serfs. In southern Colombia, for instance, the agricultural laborer works four days each week upon the land of the proprietor at from five to ten cents per day, in return for his patch and



house. He runs in debt to his master for supplies, and since he is never able to work off the debt, he cannot leave the estate, and thus he becomes a serf for life. Much the same

Agricultural Labor

system prevails in Ecuador, though conditions are somewhat better, the laborer receiving from twenty to forty cents per day, and an acre of ground to cultivate for himself. In Bolivia the laborer receives from two to four acres to cultivate, in return for which he gives from two to four days each week to the owner, for which he receives no other wages except his food. Debt slavery is not legal in Bolivia. In Chile the laborer receives from two to six acres for his own cultivation, and in addition wages varying from ten to fifteen cents a day. Independent laborers in Chile receive fifty cents a day. In Argentina a better condition prevails, the old feudal fetters which retard labor in the western countries of South America having been shaken off years ago, and it is not uncommon for a peon to acquire land and become a proprietor. In Mexico before the revolution the peon was likewise a semiserf, the same conditions prevailed there which one meets in Colombia and Chile.

In the cotton- and sugar-growing regions of Brazil Negro labor is used, which is also true of the Guianas and Venezuela. It is stated that between 1825 and 1850 1,250,000 slaves were landed in Brazil, though slavery was abolished in 1888. The Brazilian Negro is easy-going, and he is usually content with

Agricultural Labor in Brazil

just enough exertion to provide himself with the rude necessities. After the abolition of slavery, in order to provide labor for the estates, Brazil began the policy of establishing colonies for foreign immigrants, and a great wave set in, especially to the southern provinces. Into these coffee-growing states in southern Brazil Germans and Italians came in considerable numbers, and in these states labor is almost entirely of this stock. This fact accounts for the progressiveness of this part of Brazil. The cattle industry is carried on by the Gauchos much as in Uruguay and Argentina.

TRANSPORTATION

Argentina leads the Latin American republics in railroad mileage, with a total in 1925, 22,220 miles. The British own 65 per cent of these roads, 20 per cent is state owned, while the remainder is largely controlled by French interests. Brazil ranks second among the Latin American republics with 19,570 miles; Mexico comes third with 13,197 miles. Brazilian railroads have been developed in a series of independent systems, due to the wide separation of the large population centers. In 1925 Chile had 5,624 miles; Cuba, 3,250 miles; and Peru, 2,030 miles, while the other states have less than 2,000 miles

each. Railroad construction has been slow, especially on the west coast, because of the vast difficulties presented by the Andes.

The scarcity of population is another factor delaying railroad building, for only as population creates demands can roads be constructed. In Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina railroad building has been comparatively easy, but far different problems are faced when railroad construction is attempted in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, or Colombia.

The greatest railroad center in Latin America is Buenos Aires. The first railroad in Argentina, a short line running westward from the capital, was opened to traffic in 1857. Since that time railroad development has gone steadily forward, until at the present time Argentina ranks tenth among the countries of the world in the length of her lines. The railroads of Argentina may be divided into five systems: the Central Argentina, running northwestward to Tucuman; the great

Southern, which serves the southern part of the province, with about 3,000 miles of line; the Buenos Aires Western, with about 1,500 miles of track; the Central Cordoba, which includes the lines north of Tucuman; and the Buenos Aires and Pacific, which forms part of the transcontinental system. One of the unfortunate things about the railroads of South America is the different gauges. There are three gauges in Argentina, namely, the broad, the medium, and the narrow, which condition prevents the transfer

Railroad Mileage in
Latin America

Argentine Railroads

of rolling stock from one line to another. British capital has largely been responsible for the building of these roads, the amount invested being over \$1,000,000,000. Every year railroad construction goes forward, and in 1911 1,964 miles of new track were laid. During the war, due largely to the lack of capital, little construction was undertaken, but since 1918 an elaborate state railway construction program has been undertaken which involves the expenditure of some \$200,000,000. These railroads of Brazil were originally planned to bring the products of the interior to the nearest port, which resulted in the building of five systems. Pernambuco was the focus of

Railroads of Brazil and Uruguay

one system, Bahia of another, Rio de Janeiro of another, São Paulo of a fourth, while Rio Grande de Sul in the extreme south was the terminus of a fifth system. In recent years the government has seen the necessity of connecting these various systems part of which plan has already been carried out. Uruguay has 1,625 miles of road, operated by five companies. The roads in operation are the Central Uruguay, the Midland Uruguay, the Uruguay East Coast, the Norte Railway, and the Puerta Sauce to Minuano. Montevideo is the great Uruguayan railroad center.

Over 2,000 miles of Chilean railroad are owned by the government, while private companies operate about as much more. The government railroad plan for Chile includes the building of a line reaching from north to south through the great central valley, where a large proportion of the population is to be found. Most of the short lines from the coast to the interior are private lines serving special interests. In 1910 the tunnel through the Andes was opened. Two other trans-Andean railroads are contemplated, one to cross the Andes some 300 miles

Railroads in the West Coast Countries

north of Santiago, and the other some 400 miles to the south. Peruvian railroads are to a great extent owned by the government. In 1915 there were less than 2,000 miles of road in operation though there were under construction or under survey some 3,500 miles additional. The most important is the Central Railroad, which runs from Callao through Lima to Oroya

with connections with Cerro de Pasco road, which has its terminus at the largest copper mine in the world. Peruvian railroads are short, and railroad construction has had to overcome tremendous difficulties. The same is also true of Bolivia, where 1,300 miles are in operation. The chief Bolivian road is the line which runs from Antofagasta, Chile, to Oruro, where it connects with the Bolivia Railroad, which in turn connects with a road to the capital, La Paz. Ecuador has but 420 miles of railroad, the greater part of this mileage being represented by the Guayaquil and Quito line.

Railroad development in Colombia and Venezuela has hardly begun. In Colombia the roads are mostly short lines running inland from coast ports, or connect inland places with the Magdalena River. The road connecting Bogotá with the Magdalena is 105 miles long and was completed in 1906. Venezuela has a railroad mileage of 645 miles (1924). These roads resemble those of Colombia, being short lines running in from ports. Around the capital there has been more development, and several of these short lines have connected their systems.

Colombia devoted most of the \$25,000,000 received from the United States as Panama indemnity, for the construction or purchase of railroads. An interesting development in communication, especially in Colombia and Venezuela, is the establishment of aerial service between the ports and the inland centers.

Mexican railroads suffered greatly from the disturbed conditions of the country since 1910, but conditions are now rapidly improving. The government of Mexico under Diaz encouraged railroad construction, while the government acquired large holdings of shares in the various roads. The roads operated under the name "National Railroads of Mexico" have a combined mileage of 8,600 miles. The government owns 51 per cent of this stock. Other important lines are the Mexican Railroad between Mexico City and Vera Cruz, a British

The Railroads of
Mexico

concern, operating 520 miles. A new line connecting Mexico City with Nogales was completed in 1926. During 1925

45,000 men were employed on this line. The Southern Pacific of Mexico; the United Railways of Yucatan, and the Mexican Northwestern are some of the other railroads of the country.

The Central American railroads total 2,416 miles; Honduras, 934; Guatemala, 597; Costa Rica, 403; Salvador, 253; Panama, 257, and Nicaragua, 172. Other lines are under construction, while a number of the shorter lines are owned by fruit companies. The republic of Haiti has only about 60 miles of railroad, though there are about 650 miles of motor roads. The Dominican republic has about 150 miles of railroads and something over 400 miles of highways. Cuban railroads are well developed with a mileage of 3,250 miles.

**Central American and
the Island Railroads**

All the Latin American countries are backward in the building of highways. Argentina highway mileage is less than half the railroad mileage. The same condition prevails in all the republics. The rapid increase of automobiles will undoubtedly start an era of highway construction.

Besides the railroads the four great river systems of South America furnish many thousands of miles of navigable waterways. In Colombia the Magdalena furnishes the chief means of transportation. The river is navigable for 560 miles from its mouth and there are other stretches of navigable waterways furnished by the larger tributaries. Steamship lines ply these waters, and although the government has done little to improve the river, yet the traffic is most profitable, and river dues yield as much as \$150,000 a year. Like Colombia, Vene-

Waterways

zuela is fortunate in having a great river to furnish transportation to the interior of the country. The Orinoco is navigable for large steamships to Ciudad Bolivar, a town situated 375 miles from its mouth. The main tributaries of the Orinoco are also navigable. The Amazon and its tributaries furnish 27,000 miles of navigable waters. Large ocean-going ships can go up the river 1,000 miles to Manaos, while a United States gunboat steamed up the river 2,400 miles to the city of Iquitos, in eastern Peru. Small steamers can go up the river to within 350 miles of Lima, in Peru. The waterways of Peru, composed of the branches of

the Amazon, have been estimated at a total length of 20,000 miles, while in Bolivia both the headwaters of the La Plata system, including the Paraná, the Uruguay, and the Paraguay Rivers, offer immense opportunities for internal navigation. Sea vessels can go up to 1,200 miles above Buenos Aires, while smaller craft can ascend 2,350 miles into the interior. Uruguay has 700 miles of internal waterways, largely furnished by the La Plata and the Uruguay rivers. There are ten ports of the Uruguay open to interoceanic trade. When properly developed the South American rivers will afford boundless opportunities for communication with the rich interior of the continent.

COMMERCE

The two leading nations in Latin America, in the volume of their foreign trade, are Argentina and Brazil. Ranking next come Cuba, Mexico, and Chile, while Uruguay, Bolivia, Colombia, and Venezuela belong to a third group. Paraguay, Nicaragua, and Honduras with Ecuador have the least foreign trade. The total Latin American trade in 1913 was \$2,874,529,054, and of this total 53 per cent was exports and 47 per cent imports. Of the countries interested in this trade Great Britain led with 27 per cent; Germany came second with 18 per cent; the United States third with 17 per cent; France fourth with 9 per cent.

The United States holds first place in the export trade of all the republics bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, except Guatemala. In Brazilian export trade the United States also holds first place. With the other South American states, however, the United States ranks after Great Britain. The United States and Great Britain share first rank among the foreign nations from which the Latin American states receive most of their imported goods.

The United States surpasses Great Britain in the import trade of all the republics of North America, and in none of the republics of South America except Colombia and Venezuela.

The effect of the Great War upon Latin American trade

has been marked. Previous to 1914 Germany had gained a large share of South and Central American commerce, and in several of the republics took rank after Great Britain in the volume of trade. The war completely cut off this German trade, with the result that much of it came to the United

Effects of the
War Upon Latin-
American Trade

States. In 1913 the Latin American exports were distributed as follows: 31.09 per cent to the United States; 29.27 per cent to Great Britain; and all other countries 39.65 per cent. In 1916 the United States had 45.35 per cent of the export trade, Great Britain had increased slightly over 1913, while the exports to other countries had fallen to 25.05 per cent. Even a greater increase is noted in the volume of Latin American import trade. In 1913 the United States sent 24.79 per cent of the total imports into Latin America, while in 1916 the United States' share of the Latin American import trade was 51.17 per cent. In 1913 Great Britain and France, combined, had 32.07 per cent of the import trade, but in 1916 their share had fallen to 22.87 per cent. The share of all other countries fell during the same years from 43.14 per cent to 25.96 per cent.

In 1925 Argentina imports amounted to 880,000,000 of gold pesos (\$0.965 U. S.) and 930,000,000 exports; Brazil's foreign trade in 1924 was: exports, \$342,000,000; imports, \$495,000,000. Great Britain, the United States, and Germany were the principal countries concerned, ranking in the order named. Chile's import trade in 1924 was \$136,000,000, while the export trade amounted to the large sum of \$227,000,000.

Recent Trade Condi-
tions in the Principal
Latin American States

Peru's exports in 1924 amounted to \$125,000,000; imports, \$75,000,000. In 1923 petroleum constituted 67 per cent of the total exports of Mexico, while more than 75 per cent of the total trade of Mexico is with the United States. In that year Mexico exported \$350,000,000 worth of products as compared to \$150,000,000 in 1913. The movement of trade in Mexico is away from the Gulf ports and toward the towns on the United States border.

The Panama Canal has been in operation since 1915. During the first six years there was a marked increase in canal traffic

notwithstanding the fact that the World War seriously interfered with normal ocean-going commerce. The tolls and other transit revenue during the first year amounted to \$4,343,383, which was \$220,000 above operating expenses. In 1921 the canal income was \$12,040,116, while the operating expenses were something over \$9,000,000. In 1925 the income amounted to more than \$21,000,000. The opening of

**The Panama Canal in
Operation**

the canal has decreased by more than three thousand miles the distance from the Pacific ports of South America to the southern and eastern ports of the United States. Great Britain and the United States are the chief users of the canal.

The Great War resulted in bringing greatly increased Latin American trade to the United States. Previous to the war Germany had gained a large share of the South and Central American commerce, and in several of the republics took rank after Great Britain in the volume of trade. The war completely cut off German trade, with the result that much of it came to the United States. In 1916 the United States had more than 50 per cent of the Latin American import trade and more than 45 per cent of the export trade. Since the war Germany has largely regained her pre-war position in the Latin American markets. High rates of exchange and increased tariffs have served to turn South Americans to their old Euro-

**Present Trade Situ-
ation Between the
United States and
Latin America**

pean customers. In the meantime the United States has been making some effort to hold the Latin American trade. Under the Federal Reserve Act and a supplementary act known

as the Edge Act, American banks are now allowed to establish branches in foreign countries. The Edge Act gives the United States for the first time financial organizations for the express purpose of assisting foreign trade through long-time investments. This act permits the formation of these foreign investment banks under federal charter and allows such corporations to issue their own notes and debentures for sale to investors. A number of large American banking houses have availed themselves of these increased opportunities and have established branches in South and Central America.

Latin American products are in demand the world over. Wheat and meats, coffee and cocoa are staple products which the world demands. Her hides and rubber, besides her vast supply of minerals—copper, tin, lead, phosphates, oil—all are needed in this period of world reconstruction. It looks very much as though Latin America's time had come. Political stability is on the increase, financial responsibility is assured, while the relations between the two Americas are becoming more and more cordial. Economically Latin America is bound to progress more in the next fifty years than in the previous four hundred.

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CHAPTER XXVI

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: LATIN AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR AND PAN-AMERICANISM

ONE might naturally suppose that the relations between the United States and Latin America would be intimate and close. All the republics belong to the New World and are detached from European politics; they all have the same form of government; all won their independence from European domination. The points of contrast, however, are much more numerous

than the points in common. They differ in race, religion, language, and ideals. The

Latin America and
Anglo-Saxon America

Latin American has had a different history,

as well as different climatic and physical surroundings. Mr. Bryce says, "The Teutonic Americans and the Spanish Americans have nothing in common except two names, the name America and the name republican." While there seems to be little sympathy between the two Americas, yet the fact of juxtaposition has produced contact, and it is the purpose of this chapter to examine these occasions of contact. Let us first, however, pass in review Latin American relations with European states.

Since the wars for independence the relation of the Latin American republics with the mother countries has not been intimate. The Creoles, who were largely at the head of the revolutionary movements, hated the Spanish government, and

this hatred was accentuated by the long

Latin American
Relations with Spain

duration of the struggle. Then Spain also

was distracted for many years after the wars, and there was little to induce the Latin Americans to establish intimate relations with her. One will find few instances of any manifestation of interest in Spanish history in Latin America. Mr. Bryce points out the almost entire absence of any monuments to any of the great Spanish conquerors, such as Cortes or Pizarro. There has also been little interest manifested in

Spanish art or literature. Until recent years there were very few direct relations between Italy and Latin America. Although Italians compose a third of the population of Argentina, and are a considerable factor in the populations of Uruguay and Brazil, there is very little trade between Italian and South American ports, and practically no mutual political or intellectual influence.

For a number of years before the great European war, German relations with Latin America had been growing with considerable rapidity. Of all the people of northern Europe the Germans have come out to South America in the greatest numbers. German immigrants formed large communities in southern Brazil, and have had influence also in Chile. In Chile they exercised a large educational influence, and the army was organized on the German model. If it had not

**German Relations
with Latin America**

been for the Monroe Doctrine, undoubtedly Germany would have had large colonial interests in South America. Germany for a number of years condemned the Monroe Doctrine for the very evident reason that it stood in the way of her ambitions. The Germans have continued to use the German language both in Brazil and Chile, and when Brazil broke off diplomatic relations with Germany during the Great War the German colonists in the southern states threatened revolt. The Germans have not invested largely in railroad construction, as have the British, but they have established steamship lines connecting German with Latin American ports, and a great part of the commerce of several of the republics was in their hands. The Germans have taken considerable pains to learn the language of the people and to understand the people themselves. Aside, however, from the fact that the German army has served as the model for South American ministers to follow, Latin America has been little influenced by Germany. Germany undoubtedly overestimated her influence in Latin America, as the conduct of her officials during the War clearly indicated.

British influence in Latin America has been largely commercial and economic. The English are the heaviest investors in South American railroads and other securities, while many

Englishmen own ranches and farms, especially in Argentina. Most Englishmen in Latin America are the representatives of wealthy firms or corporations and they are therefore men of considerable education and have a great deal of money which they dispense with seeming liberality. Railroad builders are considered great benefactors in South America, and the position of the English has been helped by that fact. As far, however, as affecting the ideals and the intellectual life of the people, the English, like the Germans, have little influence. The Latin Americans do not seem to consider the English interests in their countries as constituting a peril. They are willing to receive English help in developing their resources, but with English ways and ideals they have little in common.

Great Britain and
Latin America

Of all European nations France has by far the largest influence upon Latin America. Mr. Bryce traces this to several causes. First, there was the influence of the French Revolution and the literature produced by France, both during and after that epoch. Severed from Spain by the revolutions, the Latin Americans turned to France. The French language was already more familiar to them than any other foreign language, and during the colonial days French commerce supplied the colonists with most of their luxuries. French literature had a special attraction for the Latin Americans in that they both have a fondness for graceful, pointed, and rhetorical expression. "In short, they have an intellectual affinity for France, for the brightness of her ideas, the gaiety of her spirit, the finish of her literary methods, the quality of her sentiment." It is to Paris that wealthy South Americans, whether from Brazil, Argentina, or Venezuela, flock for their amusement or their education. French ideals and tastes dominate the Latin American world of ideas. French commerce is likewise considerable, though less in volume than that of Great Britain, Germany, or the United States.

French Influence in
Latin America

The political relation of the United States to Latin America centers about the Monroe Doctrine. Our dealings with Mexico have been more frequent than with other countries, and they

have not been such as to cause them to desire our approach. The Mexican War, resulting in the territorial aggrandizement on the part of the United States, will not soon be forgotten

or forgiven by the Mexican people. The
Relations of the
United States with
Mexico

Gadsden purchase (1853) resulted in the acquiring of a large strip of territory bordering on New Mexico, for the purpose of making easier the construction of a transcontinental railway, and although not exactly a voluntary cession, yet it left no hard feeling. Since that time until 1911 the relations of the United States with Mexico were cordial. At the close of the American Civil War the United States rendered a great service to the Mexican republic in bringing about the withdrawal of French troops and freeing them from the danger of foreign domination. Under the rule of Díaz, American investments in Mexico were encouraged and in the development of the mineral resources and railroad extension of the country American capital played the chief part.

With the overthrow of President Díaz in 1911, and with the revolutions which followed, the \$1,000,000,000 of American investments in Mexico were endangered and much pressure was brought to bear upon President Taft to intervene. Mr. Taft refrained from taking that extreme step, but the army of the United States was sent to the border to insure neutrality. In the last days of President Taft's administration President Madero was assassinated by the agents of General Huerta after which Huerta assumed the presidency. President Wilson, who now came into office, refused to recognize Huerta, although he had already been recognized by European states. Because of the irritation felt by the Huerta party at the stand of President Wilson American sailors were arrested at Tampico, in April, 1914, by the soldiers of the Mexican president. Although

American Intervention
in Mexico in 1914

Huerta disowned this act, the American admiral demanded a further satisfaction in the salute of the American flag by Mexican guns. This was refused. Meanwhile many people in the United States were beginning to fret and chafe under the policy of "watchful waiting" maintained by President Wilson, and demands for intervention became loud. At last President Wilson

and Congress decided to send troops to Vera Cruz. Accordingly, a force was landed which resulted in the killing of several Americans and a more considerable number of Mexicans. At this juncture mediation was proposed by the three great powers of South America, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. This was accepted by the United States and Mexico, and representatives of the five republics met at Niagara Falls in Canada and decided on an arrangement by which Huerta was to resign and the United States was then to withdraw her troops. In 1915 the United States recognized President Carranza as the president of Mexico. In 1916, Pancho Villa, a bold leader of a faction in Mexico, crossed the southern boundary of the United States, and a number of American citizens were shot, whereupon the government of the United States decided to send a division of troops to the border, under General Pershing, to punish Villa. Although this was not accomplished, the raids ceased.

The relations between the United States and Mexico during our war with Germany were far from cordial, due to the pro-German attitude of President Carranza and his administration. With the overthrow of Carranza and the coming into power of President Obregón, conditions for a better understanding between the two countries were somewhat improved, though the United States did not recognize the Obregón government until September, 1923. During the Calles administration there were numerous causes of friction; the enforcement of the land law in respect to alien ownership; the attempt on the part of the Mexican government to enforce the principle of subsoil ownership, which seriously affected the American oil and mining interest; the breaking up of the great estates and the policy of dividing them into small holdings for peon farmers have greatly disturbed United States holders of great landed properties; and last, the attempts of the Mexican authorities to carry out the constitutional provisions in reference to religion have caused great excitement on the part of the Catholics in the United States.

Our Relations with
Mexico Since the
Great War

United States business interests in Mexico are very large, amounting to more than \$1,500,000,000 (1919). Americans

own 78 per cent of the mines, 72 per cent of the smelters, 58 per cent of the oil, and 68 per cent of the rubber business. American companies own vast stretches of land; the American Cattle Company owning 1,300,000 acres (1902) in Sonora, and numerous other companies tracts equally large. United

**Business Relations
Between the United
States and Mexico**

States citizens have constructed more than two-thirds of Mexico's railroads, while Mexico's trade with the United States is larger than with all the other countries combined. Fortunately, at this writing, conditions point in the direction of more friendly relations between the two republics. The decision of the Mexican Supreme Court in favor of the American oil companies; the fine impression made by the new United States minister, Mr. Morrow, upon the Mexican people, and the visit of Colonel Lindbergh have combined to increase friendliness and good will.

The early relations of the United States to the Central American states have been largely due to the question of an interoceanic canal. When a dispute arose between Great Britain and Nicaragua over the possession of the Mosquito coast, the United States supported the claims of Nicaragua. After the discovery of gold in California the frequency of travel

**United States
Relations with Central
America**

across the isthmus became much greater, and agitation both for a railroad and a canal across the isthmus was begun. This resulted in the making of the first accurate surveys of the isthmus and the building of the Panama Railroad. This made necessary considerable negotiations with Nicaragua, but in 1901 the Nicaragua route was definitely abandoned and the Panama route chosen. After this, canal negotiations were carried on with Colombia, and later with the new republic of Panama, though a treaty was signed with Nicaragua in 1916 giving the United States an exclusive right to the Nicaragua route.

On the decision of the United States to adopt the Panama route for an interoceanic canal, negotiations were at once begun with Colombia which resulted in what is known as the Hay-Herran treaty. At that time Colombia was torn by revolutionary movements which had begun in 1899. The treaty

provided for the transfer to the United States on the part of Colombia of the rights of the French company which had become bankrupt in 1889. It provided also for the cession of a right of way for a canal, and a strip of territory five miles

The Panama Canal
Negotiations

broad on each side of the canal, as well as the two ports of Colon and Panama. In return the United States agreed to pay \$10,000,000 down and after ten years an annual rental of \$250,000. Besides, the United States agreed to pay for the number of shares held by Colombia in the French Company. This treaty was properly signed by the agents of both governments, but the Colombian Congress refused to ratify on the ground that the treaty had been made while Colombia was in a state of war. The real reason, however, seems to have been the desire of the Colombian Congress to receive a larger money payment.

Following the adjournment of the Colombian Congress a revolution broke out in Panama. This revolution was quite evidently fomented by persons interested in building the canal. American warships prevented Colombia from suppressing the revolt, and four days after the revolution began the United

The Revolution in
Panama

States recognized the independence of the new republic. The United States at once made an agreement with the new republic

even more satisfactory than the previous unratified agreement with Colombia. Not only was a strip of land five miles broad on each side of the canal secured, but the right to fortify the canal was given, as well as additional naval stations within the republic. In return the United States agreed to pay Panama \$10,000,000 down, and after nine years \$250,000 each year.

The constitution of Panama contains this clause: "The Gov-

Negotiations with the
Republic of Panama

ernment of the United States of America may intervene anywhere in the Republic of Panama for the establishment of constitutional

peace and order if this should be disturbed, provided that by virtue of public treaty said nation should assume or have assumed to guarantee the independence and sovereignty of this republic." By this remarkable treaty agreement and by

the constitutional grant of Panama the United States has practically gained a protectorate over Panama and a colony in the Canal Zone.

With the establishment of United States interests in Central America through her ownership of the Panama Canal Zone, she has taken a much greater part in Central American affairs. The United States has felt the necessity of establishing stable governments in the republics near the canal, and for that reason has been almost constantly occupied since 1906 either medi-

United States
Intervention in
Central America

ating between the republics or directly intervening in their internal affairs. In 1906 Presidents Roosevelt and Díaz mediated between Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras; in 1907 President Roosevelt arranged a peace conference in Washington of the five republics, which resulted in the signing of a compulsory arbitration agreement. Disturbed conditions continued in Nicaragua, and in 1909, after the overthrow of Zelaya, the United States negotiated a treaty with the Nicaraguan government giving the United States the right of virtually controlling the finances of the country. Again in 1912 United States troops were landed in Nicaragua, at the request of the Nicaragua government, to quell a revolution. In 1913 a revolution occurred in Honduras in which the United States again intervened and a treaty, similar to that made with Nicaragua, was negotiated, but failed of ratification.

The United States relations with Nicaragua from 1913 to 1923 have been briefly outlined in Chapter XXI. Nicaraguan affairs from 1923 to 1928 are far too confused to warrant full treatment here. The election of 1924 resulted in the success of a coalition ticket, with a Conservative for president and a Liberal for vice-president. Soon afterward the administration was overthrown by a Conservative *coup d'état*, and the Liberal vice-president, Sacasa, fled the country. The president, Solórzano, resigned, and the Liberals insisted that Vice-President Sacasa succeed him, according to the constitutional provision. Instead the Assembly proceeded to elect Adolfo Díaz, a Conservative as president. This was the signal for a Liberal uprising, demanding that Sacasa be made president, as the con-

stitution provides. Diaz now called upon the United States for aid, and by January 15, 1927, there were 15 United States vessels and 4,500 officers and men ready to carry out the bidding of the State Department. This action on the part of the United States immediately called forth a storm of adverse criticism, Latin American newspapers being particularly open in their accusation of the growing "imperialism" of the United States. The United States government sold the Diaz government arms and ammunition in February, while in April, Henry L. Stimson was sent to Nicaragua as a special representative of President Coolidge to study the situation and arrange some settlement between the contending factions. Mr. Stimson proposed that a supervised election be held in 1928. This was accepted by both sides, but the Sacasa supporters demanded that Diaz be not continued in office. To this Mr. Stimson would not agree. In May all the insurgent generals, except one, Sandino, accepted terms of disarmament, which marked the end of the insurrection. In the meantime Sandino continued to carry on against the forces of the United States.

The United States dealings with Cuba, Haiti, and Porto Rico have had important bearing upon Latin American sentiment toward North Americans. The reduction of the republics of Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Haiti to positions of disguised protectorates of the United States has already been sufficiently discussed in Chapter XXI.

Another important change in the Caribbean was brought about during the World War in the purchase of the Danish West Indies, the Virgin Islands, by the United States. The three principal islands are Saint Thomas, Saint Croix, and Saint John, with a total population of some thirty-five thousand, mostly blacks. The islands are not self-supporting and little has been done for the native population, though since the American occupation some schools have been organized and the United States Department of Agriculture has already extended its activities to the islands.

The relation of the United States with the South American

Affairs in Nicaragua
from 1923 to 1928

The Purchase of the
Virgin Islands by the
United States

states since their independence has been much less important than that with Mexico, the Central American states, or the islands. With four of the republics, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Uruguay, the United States has had practically no political dealings. In 1831 a slight difficulty with Argentina over the seizure of American fishing vessels resulted in the removal, by an American warship, of the Argentina colony on the Falkland Islands. This loss was followed, two years later, by the seizure of the islands by Great Britain. Argentina has claimed that her loss of these islands was due to the United States. Some difficulty with Paraguay over that republic's interference with the navigation of the Paraguay River was settled in 1850 by the visit of an armed expedition. In 1893

Political Relations
Between the United
States and the South
American Republics

American warships in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro almost came into conflict with Brazilian warships, but as the Brazilian fleet was in the hands of rebel forces and was later overcome there was no break in the harmony between the two governments. With Chile American relations have not been so harmonious. Secretary Blaine, in 1881, attempted to mediate between Chile and Peru, with the result that Chile was angered. Ten years later, in the Chilean civil war, the American minister unwisely took the side of President Balmaceda, which greatly offended the victorious Congress. While the feeling against the United States was still strong, American sailors were attacked by a Chilean mob in Valparaiso, which almost led the two nations into war. The United States sent an ultimatum, and Chile submitted. These incidents have continued to rankle, and the relations between Chile and the United States have not been as cordial as with the other large South American states. The relations between the United States and Colombia have already been outlined above, in discussing the Panama Canal negotiations. Relations with Venezuela have been chiefly those which have grown out of the boundary dispute with Great Britain in 1895 and the dispute with Germany, Italy, and Great Britain, in 1902-1903, over their claims on Venezuela.

For many years there had been a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundary of British Guiana.

Venezuela had attempted on a number of occasions to draw the United States into the controversy, but up to 1895 she had not been successful. By this time the question had become more acute, due to the discovery of gold in the disputed region. For this reason President Cleveland decided to handle the question, and declared that it was the duty of the United

**The Venezuelan
Boundary Dispute
and Olney's Inter-
pretation of the
Monroe Doctrine**

States, under the Monroe Doctrine, to insist upon a judicial settlement. On June 20, 1895, the American secretary of state, Mr. Olney, sent a dispatch to Great Britain setting forth President Cleveland's views. The message stated that "Any permanent union between a European and an American state" is unnatural and inexpedient, and further on announced that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." These declarations were astonishing both to Great Britain and the South American states, and were at once disputed by Great Britain. President Cleveland, however, insisted that Great Britain arbitrate, even threatening war. Great Britain finally consented to arbitrate and the incident was closed.

The outcome of this controversy was a triumph for the United States, and since that time "they have seldom let slip a chance to reiterate their belief in it" (the Monroe Doctrine). This incident served also to bring the Monroe Doctrine much more prominently to the notice of the outside world. Again, in 1902, President Roosevelt asserted the principle of the doctrine in compelling Germany to arbitrate in another dispute with Venezuela. Intervention in Latin

**Recent Examples of
American Intervention**

American affairs has become more frequent. Through American intervention Panama was set apart from Colombia in 1903; Santo Domingo, as well as Guatemala and Honduras, have been taken under financial tutelage, while in 1906 the Cuban revolution was suppressed by American arms. The revolution of 1910-'17 in Mexico resulted in the invasion of Mexican territory by American troops, arousing much suspicion, not only in Mexico, but also among the other Latin American states. The more recent

intervention of the United States in Nicaragua has but added fuel to the flame of Latin American antagonism, though Mr. Hughes' defense of the American policy of intervention at the Pan-American Congress in Habana will perhaps allay some of the open criticism.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE¹

The attitude of the Latin American states toward the Monroe Doctrine is a matter little understood by the people of the United States. From the date of its appearance in 1823 down to the present time the doctrine has met with practically universal approval by the people of the United States, but they

How the People of
the United States
Think of the Monroe
Doctrine

have not taken the trouble to find out how it has been received by the people of the South or Central American states. The doctrine proclaims: (1) that the American continents

are not subjects for future colonization by any European powers, and (2) that any interference for the purpose of controlling or oppressing the independent governments of America by European powers would be considered as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. The people of the United States have been proud of this doctrine, for they have looked upon it as a means by which they have guarded liberty. It means to the average American that the United States has voluntarily taken upon herself the protection of democracy in the New World. Nor has the average American looked upon the doctrine as a means of territorial aggrandizement. To the Latin American, however, it has a far different meaning.

The Monroe Doctrine now stands for much that was not imagined at the time of its announcement. Down to the

The Monroe Doctrine
Transformed into an
Offensive Doctrine

Mexican War it was not an offense to the Latin American people; they regarded it as a means for their protection, and were seemingly grateful for it. In those early years it was purely a defensive measure, but since those days it has undergone a great transformation. In recent years the United States has lost ground with the Latin American peoples. This is especially

true since the Venezuelan controversy and the ensuing proclamation of President Cleveland and Secretary Olney.

A Latin American recently began a discussion of what he termed "the North American peril" with these words: "To save themselves from Yankee imperialism the American democracies would almost accept a German alliance or the aid of Japanese arms; everywhere the Americans of the North are feared." This brilliant writer sees in the United States two parties in respect to Latin America, one represented by Mr. Root, who in the Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 said: "We do not wish to win victories, we desire no territory but our own, nor a sovereignty more extensive than that which we desire to retain over ourselves. We consider that the independence and the equal rights of the smallest and weakest members of the family of nations deserves as much respect as those of the great empires."

How Latin Americans
View the Monroe
Doctrine

The other party is represented by the imperialistic declaration of Mr. Olney in 1895:

"To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." The people of Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Peru resent the idea of the Monroe Doctrine. They realize that there is slight danger of any European tyrant enslaving them, and they refuse to receive the protection of the United States where no protection is needed or wanted. The great newspapers of Latin America have almost unanimously in recent years opposed the Monroe Doctrine. One of the leading papers of Peru had this to say in regard to the doctrine: "Respect for the political sovereignty and the commercial independence of Latin America, which the government of the United States sets forth so freely on every occasion, is not able to counteract nor to lessen the eloquence of deeds, and these are the deeds: tutelage over Cuba; abduction of Panama; the embargo on the customhouses of Santo Domingo; economic and military intervention in Central America; the 'big stick' dollar diplomacy, and the Lodge declaration." This is a compact statement of Latin American opinion of the Monroe Doctrine.

One of the most open Latin American critics of the Monroe Doctrine is Manuel Ugarte, of the Argentine, who for years has conducted an active campaign against United States "imperialism" and has attempted to organize the opposition throughout the Latin American republics.

The recognition and the direct mention of the Monroe Doctrine in the Covenant of the League of Nations has given it a standing in international law which it did not before possess. This fact, however, has not in any way decreased opposition to the doctrine on the part of the larger Latin American states.

Recent International
Status of the Monroe
Doctrine

In recent years there have arisen a number of advocates in the United States favoring the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine as being a hindrance to the best relations between the two Americas. One of the chief supporters of this policy was Hiram Bingham, formerly of Yale University. The reasons given for the abandoning of the doctrine were: (1) The original Monroe Doctrine has been disregarded on several occasions by the United States herself. (2) There is no longer any danger of any European power extending its system to this hemisphere. (3) The larger Latin American states are no longer infants and therefore resent our interference in their affairs, and we could be better friends without it. (4) Their friendship is worth having, and we cannot afford to treat them so as to estrange them. (5) The modern form which the Monroe Doctrine has taken, known as the "American policeman idea," is not only liable to cost us the friendship of the Latin American states but also the friendship of the European states as well. (6) The premises on which the Monroe Doctrine was founded no longer exist. There is no immediate indication, however, that the United States will abandon the Monroe Doctrine, though the idea of Pan-Americanism has undoubtedly gained headway.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR

On the entrance of the United States into the World War on April 16, 1917, the hope was quite generally expressed both in the United States and in Europe that many, if not all, of the South and Central American states would follow the

example of their great neighbor. Indeed, President Wilson, in his announcement of the severing of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, two months before the declaration of war, expressed the hope that the remaining neutral states would do likewise. He undoubtedly referred here to the republics of Latin America. This expectation, on the whole, was reasonably fulfilled. Of the twenty states in Latin America eight eventually declared war with Germany; five broke diplomatic relations, while the remaining seven remained neutral.¹

The most important Latin American state at war with Germany was Brazil. Sentiment in Brazil, especially among the educated classes, was from the first overwhelmingly pro-Ally, and as the war progressed this sentiment rapidly increased, particularly after the German violation of Belgium. This pro-Ally feeling in Brazil was soon crystallized into an organization called the Brazilian League for the Allies, at the head of which was one of the most distinguished of modern Brazilians, Ruy Barbosa. This organization was from the first active in raising funds for the French and Brazilian Red Cross, and in

strengthening the cultural bonds between
Brazil and the Allies, and especially France.
Hostilities in Europe greatly disturbed Bra-
zil's economic life; finances were soon in disorder, while trade
was nearly paralyzed. It was Germany's submarine warfare
which finally drove Brazil into active hostility to Germany.
Brazil has the largest merchant marine of any of the Latin
American states, and the war conditions soon led Brazilian
ships to maintain regular communications with Europe, thus
exposing them to the danger of the undersea warfare which
Germany had begun. As early as May 1, 1915, a Brazilian
ship had been sunk by a German submarine, while a second
Brazilian merchantman was sent to the bottom in April, 1917.

Among the other influences which led Brazil into the Great War was the entrance of Portugal in 1916. Portugal's declaration of war against Germany was received with great enthu-

Among the other influences which led Brazil into the Great War was the entrance of Portugal in 1916. Portugal's declaration of war against Germany was received with great enthu-

¹ Most of the facts pertaining to Latin America and the War I have drawn from Professor Percy A. Martin's *Latin America and the War* (World Peace Foundation).

siasm in Brazil, while the clumsy German agents and spies and their activities added to the flame. The breaking of the relations between the United States and Germany also greatly stirred Brazilian public opinion, and when in April, 1917, the second Brazilian ship was sunk, Brazil was ready to cast in her lot with the enemies of Germany, and on April 11, 1917, the German minister was given his passports. In the May following, President Braz, in his message to Congress, suggested that "the Brazilian nation, through its legislative organ, . . . adopt the attitude that one of the belligerents (the United States) forms an integral part of the American continent, and

Brazil Breaks
Diplomatic Relations
with Germany,
April 11, 1917

that to this belligerent we are bound by traditional friendship and by a similarity of political opinion in the defense of the vital interests of America and the principles accepted by international law." The next move was the seizure of forty-six German ships in Brazilian harbors, and the revoking of technical neutrality. President Wilson on learning of Brazil's action immediately telegraphed, "I am sure I speak in the name of my fellow countrymen when I express my warm admiration for this act, and the hope that it is the forerunner of the attitude to be assumed by the rest of the American states." President Braz replied, and in his closing sentence stated, "More than any external manifestations, no occasion could so unite the hearts of Brazil and the United States as the present period of uncertainty and struggle."

The final break with Germany did not come, however, until October 26, after word had been received that two more Brazilian ships had been sent to the bottom by German submarines. On the above date the resolution declaring a "state of war initiated by the German Empire against Brazil" was adopted by a unanimous vote in the Senate and by 149 to 1 in the Chamber of Deputies.

Soon after Brazil's declaration of war the Congress authorized the President to increase the size and the efficiency of the army, and a mission was sent to the United States to arrange military co-operation and to purchase military supplies. It is very probable that if the war had lasted another year Brazil

would have sent a considerable military force to western Europe. In December, 1917, Brazil dispatched a war fleet to co-operate with the allied forces under the British admiralty.

**Brazil's
War Measures**

This fleet consisted of two scout cruisers and four destroyers. Later Brazil also sent to Europe a group of ten naval aviators as well as a considerable number of Red Cross units and physicians.

Perhaps the greatest service rendered by Brazil to the cause of the Allies was in supplying food. Effort was made to increase the nation's food output, which was extremely successful in greatly enlarging the planted areas, while the minister of agriculture supplied large quantities of seeds. Brazil's exports of food increased in a most phenomenal way.

**Brazil's Greatest
Service to the Allies**

The export of beans, which in 1915 amounted to but little more than \$24,000, was increased to \$10,000,000 in 1917; sugar exports rose from \$3,000,000 in 1915 to \$17,000,000 in 1917, while beef increased during the same period from \$1,500,000 to \$15,000,000.

The other seven Latin American states which declared war upon Germany were Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama, all small Carriibbean states. Of these states Cuba's declaration was by far the most important. Naturally, Cuba followed the lead of the United States, and the day following the declaration of war by the United States, Cuba declared a state of war existing between the republic of Cuba and the German Empire. Immediately the Cuban Congress voted a bond issue of \$30,000,000 for war expenses and in May, 1918, an annual credit of \$2,400,000 was voted to be used for the benefit of war victims and a greater part of this sum was given to the Red Cross of the United States and the Allies. The Cubans further showed their willingness to assist in every way possible by liberally subscribing to the United States Liberty loans. The four German steamships

**Cuba and Her
Part in the War**

interned in Cuban waters were turned over to the United States, a military service bill was passed, while in October, 1918, steps were taken to send over to France a military force

of 15,000 men. Cubans took active interest in aviation, and at least two Cubans achieved distinction as members of the famous Lafayette Escadrille. Like Brazil, however, perhaps Cuba's best work during the war was in assisting the American food administration, particularly in exporting and in fixing the price of the entire Cuban sugar crop of 1918.

Of the six Central American states, all except Salvador declared war against Germany. Panama and Guatemala both declared war in April, 1917; Panama on April 7, Guatemala on April 27. Panama was influenced by the necessity of protecting the canal, while Guatemala offered the United States her territorial waters, her ports and railroads for use in the common defense. Honduras broke relations with Germany in May, 1917, and declared war in July, 1918. Nicaragua took the same steps on April 18 and May 8, 1917, respectively; Costa Rica on September 21, 1917, and May 23, 1918. Haiti declared war July 12, 1918.

The five republics which broke relations with Germany, but did not declare war, were Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay, and the Dominican Republic. The Dominican Republic withdrew the German consular service in July, 1917, which was regarded as practically a declaration of war. The above four South American republics were sympathetic with the United States and the Allies from the first. Peru broke diplomatic relations February 5, 1917, and it is not improbable that if hostilities had continued Peru would have entered the war as an active ally of the United States. Ecuador broke relations December 17, 1917, while Bolivia handed the German minister his passports a few days after the United States declared a state of war existing. Of all the states breaking diplomatic relations, Uruguay was perhaps the most cordial to the United States. On June 16, 1917, a decree was issued by the Uruguayan government proclaiming the "Government of Uruguay has proclaimed the principle of American solidarity as the criterion of its international policy" and further stated that "no American country which in defense of its own rights

The Action of the
Central American
States and Haiti

The Action Taken by
The Dominican
Republic, Peru,
Ecuador, Bolivia,
and Uruguay

should find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents will be treated as a belligerent." This decree was followed in October by congressional action breaking diplomatic relations.

The states of Latin America which remained neutral were Salvador, Paraguay, Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Mexico. Salvador maintained a benevolent neutrality toward the United States and the Allies; while Paraguay was but little affected by the war, as her position in the heart of the continent gave her little chance to come in contact with the German war methods. Colombia was undoubtedly influenced in her position by resentment against the United

The Neutral Latin American States

States for her share in the formation of the republic of Panama, while Venezuela was greatly influenced by the active German propaganda which was particularly effective among the governing classes. The president of Venezuela suppressed two newspapers in August, 1917, which were favorable to the Allies and in other ways the government showed pro-German influences.

Of the neutral states, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico are by far the most important and their neutrality deserves more attention. Undoubtedly, one of the chief influences which kept these three important Latin American states from either breaking diplomatic relations with Germany or declaring war was the attitude of the Catholic clergy. The pro-German attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America is probably explained by the fact that the majority of priests and high church officials follow the lead of Spain in religious matters. The tendency to look to Spain in all things religious

Pro-German Influence of the Latin American Clergy

is the only exception to the rule that "France is Latin America's counselor in all things pertaining to the spirit." But whatever may be

the cause of pro-Germanism among the clergy, it is certain that the lower classes in all the Latin American states have been quite largely pro-Germanized by the clergy. This influence was not only exerted in the countries which remained neutral, but it was everywhere exerted and was everywhere potent.¹

¹ *Latin America and the War*, by Frederick Bliss Luquiens, Century, October, 1918, pp. 859-864.

There seems to have been little question but that the sympathies of the great mass of the people of Argentina were strongly favorable to the Allies. Working against this strong pro-Ally sympathy, however, was an exceedingly active German propaganda. When the two most influential Argentine papers, *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, came out strongly for the Allies, a German organ made its appearance in Buenos Aires, while a flood of illustrated periodicals was distributed broadcast over the country. For the benefit of the large Italian population a pro-German paper in excellent Italian was published. Still another pro-German influence in Argentina was that exerted by the German teachers who held numerous chairs in the Argentine universities.

Argentine and the Great War

During the first years of the war Argentina gained great economic advantage because of the increased value of her staple products, which the Allies purchased in large quantities. German agents were also active in buying up raw materials for future deliveries. Argentina seemed little affected at first by Germany's submarine policy, though she seemed to approve the course of the United States in declaring war. Great excitement, however, was caused during the spring and summer of 1917 by the sinking of three Argentine ships by German submarines. The people demanded a declaration of war and the government sent some peremptory notes, which resulted in the seeming triumph of Argentina, for Germany agreed to allow indemnities for past losses and promised free passage of

Argentine Neutrality

Argentine ships bearing foodstuffs. The real nature of this seeming diplomatic triumph, however, was soon revealed by some intercepted dispatches, published by the Department of State of the United States, in September, 1917. These dispatches were between Count von Luxburg, chargé d'affaires to Argentina, and the Berlin Foreign Office. In a dispatch dated May 19, 1917, Luxburg asks that two small Argentine ships be spared if possible, or else sunk without leaving a trace. A second dispatch of July 3, 1917, calls the acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina a "notorious ass," who had demanded a promise from

Berlin not to sink more Argentine ships. To this demand Luxburg recommended a refusal. A third dispatch shows like perfidy on the part of the Germans.

Naturally, great resentment followed these disclosures. Luxburg received his passports, while anti-German rioters set fire to the German club in Buenos Aires and the offices of the pro-German paper were destroyed. The Congress voted to break diplomatic relations and it was assumed everywhere that

The Strange Action
of the Argentina
President

the president and his Cabinet would immediately take action against Germany. President Irrigoyen, however, professed himself

fully satisfied with Germany's explanation and announced that he would maintain strict neutrality. So far there has come no adequate explanation for the policy of the Argentine president, though it seems evident that his sympathies were with Germany rather than with the Allies.

The neutrality of Chile caused little surprise. She was, of all the important Latin American powers, the furthest removed from the center of hostilities, while her economic life was only temporarily deranged. Chile from the beginning of the war

Reasons for the
Neutrality of Chile

was strongly pro-German, due to the fact that both in her army and school system Chile had been greatly influenced by Ger-

many. Then also there were unlimited German funds for carrying on German propaganda. From the very first this propaganda was successful, and soon a German newspaper organ was established in Santiago, and a Chilean-German League was organized, both of which kept up a continuous agitation. The Chilean clergy openly espoused the cause of the Central Powers, and exerted a strong influence over the humbler classes. There were certain pro-English and pro-Ally influences also present in Chile. One such influence was the Chilean navy, which had always followed English ideals, while the submarine warfare soon began to have its influence in gradually changing opinion.

The most influential of the Chilean newspapers, *El Mercurio*, published both in Santiago and Valparaiso, had from the beginning of the war been inclined in sympathy toward the Allies.

When the United States broke diplomatic relations with Germany this paper gave President Wilson's action whole-hearted support, while other papers expressed the same view. When finally Germany announced her unrestricted submarine policy the Chilean government sent a vigorous reply, and as the war progressed the Chilean people more and more came to understand and appreciate the real issues at stake, and pro-Ally opinion came to be much more in evidence.

Chilean Newspapers
Largely Pro-Ally

Mexico had everything to gain by associating herself with the cause of the Allies. At least a policy of benevolent neutrality would have been much more to her advantage than the strange policy which was adopted. The reasons for the Mexican policy during the Great War are not yet clear. If she had severed relations with Germany, she would have enjoyed many financial benefits and other privileges from which neutrals were barred. President Carranza has been accused of pro-German sympathies, especially after the publication of the now famous Zimmerman dispatches, in which Mexico is urged to attack the United States. Mexico had just come through her revolution, and the nation needed all its energies for reconstruction, but it would seem that the policy adopted by President Carranza was not the one best suited to bring to Mexico what she most needed, which was the confidence and respect of the United States. President Carranza's proposal of February 11, 1917, that an embargo be placed on all supplies being sent to the belligerents, a policy which would have been disastrous to the Allies, is an example of the misguided attitude of the Carranza administration. The Mexican government, however, was at some pains to explain on several occasions that its policy was not dictated by hostility toward the United States; and as the war progressed the feeling between the United States and Mexico gradually improved.

Mexico and the
Great War

One of the events which greatly helped public opinion in Mexico to come over to the side of the Allies and the United States was the visit in 1918 of a group of Mexican newspaper men to the United States. Almost immediately there was a

change in the tone of the Mexican press, though it must be said, however, that the leading journal of Mexico, *El Universal*, had from the first taken strong ground in favor of the cause of

**Pro-Ally Influences
in Mexico**

the Allies. The American ambassador likewise did good service in interpreting to the Mexicans American motives and ideals in

the war. Another influence which in the end worked for the Allies was the bungling German propaganda, which as usual overshot the mark and a reaction eventually set in.

The war had a very marked economic influence upon Latin America as a whole. Previous to the Great War the Latin American states acquiesced in their economic dependence upon Europe and the United States, but suddenly the outside sources of government loans, manufactured articles, and foreign capital, upon which they had always depended, dried up. When Italy joined the Allies the stream of immigration, supplying labor to the Atlantic states, stopped and for the first time these new states faced their own economic problems without hope of outside help. They must now provide their

**Economic Effects of
the War Upon
Latin America**

own labor, they must manage their own finances. It stopped public borrowing and encouraged private thrift. Imports dimin-

ished, while at the same time the demand of the Allies for raw products soon produced a great expansion in the volume of the export trade. For the first time these debtor nations suddenly became creditors to Europe. Thus Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile profited greatly by the increased demands of Europe for food, rubber, and raw products, while the great mineral-producing states, as Bolivia and Peru, supplied tin and copper, the latter probably the most valuable metal in the world. Another result of the war is the increased effort of Latin America to supply their own coal, to weave their own cotton, while Chile, for instance, has learned not to depend on the market for one commodity, phosphate, but is developing her other valuable deposits as never before.

Another influence which has come out of the war is the increased effort to establish closer intercourse between the Latin American states themselves. The war forced these nations

closer together. Pan-Americanism has become more than a mere catchword, for the war revealed these nations to one another. Already there is manifest a desire for greater co-operation, illustrated by the joint celebration of the five northern republics in honor of the great Liberator, Bolívar, and by the system for exchange professorships among the South American Universities recently arranged. New steamship lines have been established to connect Latin American ports, which ought to prove of immense value in this process of consolidation, for these states have had little to do with one

Other Influences

Growing Out of the
War

another previously. Latin America has also entered upon a new relationship both with Europe and the United States. The Amer-

ican republics have emerged from the war with their prestige greatly increased and they have assumed new international responsibilities which cannot help but bring to them a new sense of pride.

Eleven Latin American states were represented at the Peace Conference, as follows: Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay. For the first time in history Latin

Latin America at the
Peace Conference, and
the League of Nations

America has taken her place in world affairs.

The eleven states mentioned above likewise became original members of the League of Nations, while the Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Salvador, and Venezuela were invited to accede to the League Covenant. At the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1920 the Argentine Republic delegation withdrew, however, on the failure of the Assembly to amend the method of choosing members of the League Council. The practical unanimity with which the Latin American states have entered the League of Nations has been pointed out as an indication of their desire to play a larger rôle in the affairs of the world, and perhaps also they have looked upon the League as a means by which they might escape from United States domination.

PAN-AMERICANISM

The idea that all the republics of the New World should draw closer together has become known as Pan-Americanism. This idea was first advanced by James G. Blaine when secretary of state in President Garfield's Cabinet,¹ and was again taken up by him when he became secretary of state in President Harrison's Cabinet. In one sense this idea is an outgrowth of the Monroe Doctrine, while in another it is the abnegation of the doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine means something imposed upon Latin America, whether they want it or not. Pan-Americanism means the co-operation of all the republics in carrying out any policy affecting the two Americas.

Secretary Blaine proposed a Pan-American Congress in 1881, but when he went out of office after Garfield's death his Latin American policy was dropped. The first Congress was held in 1889-1890, when Blaine returned to office under Harrison, and at this first Pan-American meeting Blaine played the chief rôle. Many delegates attended from Latin America. There was much speech-making, and altogether the Congress left a good impression and promoted better understanding between the various American states. Its chief accomplishment was the creation of the Bureau of American Republics, with headquarters at Washington. This organization has continued its work until the present time, and has done much toward increasing American knowledge and interest in Latin America.

A second Pan-American Congress met in the City of Mexico in 1901-1902. This conference accomplished little of importance. A third Congress was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1906, which proved much more successful than either of its forerunners. Among the things accomplished was the reorganization of the Bureau of American Republics. The Bureau was given authority to correspond with the various American

¹ Bolívar, in a sense, was the originator of the Pan-American idea, and the first Pan-American Congress met at his call at Panama in 1826. To Henry Clay belongs the honor of being the first Pan-American in the United States. (See Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances*, Chapter IV, on the "Pan Americanism of Henry Clay.")

Pan-Americanism
Defined

The First Pan-
American Congress,
1889-1890

governments, when it had certain matters to recommend, such as the ratification of treaties, and its action took on a semi-official stamp. Into its hands also was placed the responsibility of preparing programs for future Congresses, and its scope in a number of other directions was considerably enlarged.

The Second and Third
Pan-American Con-
gresses and the
Pan-American Union

Provision was also made for the securing of a building at Washington to house the Bureau. This has since been erected. The Bureau is now composed of a governing board consisting of the secretary of state of the United States and the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the other American republics. It publishes an official bulletin and descriptive pamphlets, has collected a large library, and has served in many ways to spread information. At the third Congress Mr. Root, the head of the American Cabinet, was the official representative from the United States. He made an excellent impression upon Latin Americans both by his bearing and speeches.

The fourth Pan-American Congress met in Buenos Aires in 1910, and in this year the beautiful Pan-American Union building in Washington was dedicated. The building, costing \$1,000,000, was largely the gift of Andrew Carnegie, who contributed \$750,000, while the remaining sum was given by the republics belonging to the Union. The Great War prevented the holding of the fifth Congress at the time it was due, but in 1923 the fifth Pan-American Conference convened in the city of Santiago, Chile. All the member nations were present with delegates except Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia. An attempt on the part of the Uruguayan delegation to secure the adoption by all the American states of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, was defeated, as was also an attempt to limit naval armaments. Four important conventions were signed, one

The Fourth and Fifth
Pan-American Con-
gresses: Buenos Aires,
1910; Santiago, Chile,
1923

providing for a commission to investigate and settle disputes; a second protecting the users of trade-marks; a third providing for the uniformity of nomenclature in the classification of merchandise; and a fourth providing for the publicity of customs documents. Four permanent committees were created to assist the Union in the study of four Pan-American

problems—economic and commercial relations between the American states, international organizations of labor, health measures and hygiene, and intellectual co-operation.

The sixth Pan-American Congress was held in Habana, Cuba, in February, 1928, and was rendered particularly conspicuous by the attendance of President Coolidge, and by the fact that Charles E. Hughes was the head of the United States delegation. The outstanding accomplishments of the Conference were: (1) The provision for the drafting of a convention providing for compulsory arbitration of disputes of a judicial nature. (2) An agreement regulating international commercial aviation, with provision that airplanes be barred from the vicinity of the defenses of the Canal Zone. (3) Reorganization of the Pan-American Union agreed upon. (4) Modification of the rules regulating maritime neutrality. (5) The perfecting

The Sixth Pan-American Congress, Habana, Cuba, 1928

of a plan for a Pan-American Geographic Institute, the work of which will undoubtedly remove causes for many boundary disputes.

The attempt of the delegates from Argentina and Salvador particularly to put the Congress on record as opposed to one state intervening in the affairs of another, was defeated largely through the efforts of Mr. Hughes. Altogether the Congress was accounted one of the most successful yet held.

Other Congresses of great significance in the progress of Pan-Americanism are the Scientific Congresses. The first was held in Santiago, Chile, in 1908, the invitations being issued by the president of the University of Chile. A second Scientific Congress was held in Washington, in 1915, which was rendered notable by an address by President Wilson. Other Pan-American Congresses which have been held are: the Federation of Labor Conferences in Lerdo, Texas, in 1918, and in Mexico City in 1921; the Congress on Christian Work in South America held in Panama in 1916 and in Montevideo

Other Pan-American Congresses

in 1925; also the Pan-American Commercial Congresses; Pan-American Financial Congress; Pan-American Child Welfare Con-

gresses; as well as other Pan-American meetings of con-

siderable significance. All of which would seem to indicate that the idea of Pan-Americanism is growing throughout the two Americas.

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PRONOUNCING GLOSSARY

This glossary is appended as a practical aid to students. It lays no claim to exactness. In making such a glossary many difficulties were met. First, many of the names have become Anglicized and for such the English pronunciation is allowable. A second difficulty lies in the fact that many Latin American names have a peculiar Latin American pronunciation, and it becomes very difficult to determine which form to use. In such cases the Castilian form has generally been followed. Thanks are due Professor E. B. Nichols for his expert assistance.

The markings have been made as simple as possible, and are as follows:

TABLE OF SOUNDS

ā in āle	ē in ēve	ī in īce	ō in ōld	ū in ūse	th in then
â in câre	ĕ in ĕnd	ĭ in ĭll	ô in ôrb	û in ûrn	th in thin
ă in ăm	ē in ever		ö in ödd	ű in űp	
ä in ärm			ōō in fōōd		
â in âsk			öö in fööt		
			ou in out		

A

Abascal (ă-bās-kāl'), Fernando José
(fēr-nān'-dō hō-sā')
Aconcagua (ă-kōn-kā'-gwā)
Adelantado (ă'thā-lān-tā'-thō)
Aguilar (ă-gwē-lār')
Alcalde (ăl-kāl'-dā)
Alcalde de Crimen (dā crē'-mēn)
Alcántara (ăl-kān'-tā-rā)
Alcavala (ăl-kā-vā'-lā)
Algarves (ăl-gār'-vēs')
Alguacil (ăl-gwā-thēl')
Alhambra (ă-lām'brā)
Allende (ăl-yēn'-dē)
Almagro (ăl-māg'-rō)
Alvarado, de (dā, ăl'-vā-rā'-thō)
Alvárez (ăl-vā'-rāth)
Alvear (ăl-vā-ār')
Alves (ăl'-vēsh)
Amat (ă-māt'), Don Manuel (dōn
mă-nōō-ăl')
Amazon (ă-mā-thōn')
Amerigo Vespucci (ă-mā'-rē-gō vēs-
pōōt'-chē)
Anahuac (ă-nā'-wāk)
Ancón (ăn-kōn')
Andagoya (ăn-dā-gō'-yā), Pascual
de (pās-kwāl')
Andrada (ăn-drā'-thā)
Antigua (ăn-tē'-gwā)

Apodaca (ă-pō-dā'-kā)
Aragon (ă-rā-gōn')
Arawak (ă'-rā-wāk)
Araucanian (ăr-ô-kā'-nī-ăn)
Arequipa (ă-rā-kē'pā)
Argentina (Sp. ār-hān-tē'-nā)
Arica (ă-rē'kā)
Arista (ă-r ēs'-tā)
Artigas (ăr-tē'-gās), José (hō-sā')
Asiento (ăs'-ī-ēn-tō)
Asturians (Eng. ăs-tōō'-rē-ăs)
Asunción (ă-sōōn-thē-ōn')
Atahualpa (ă-tā-wāl'-pā)
Audiencia (au-dyān'-thē-ā)
Auto de fe (ou'tō-dā-fā)
Avilés (ă-vē-lēs')
Ayacucho (ă-yā-kōō'-chō)
Aymarás (ī-mā-rās')
Ayolas, Juan de (ă-yō'-lās)
Ayuntamiento (ă-yūn-tā-mē-ăn'-tō)
Aztecs (ăz'-tēks)
Azores (ă-zōrz')

B

Baetica (bē'-tī-kā)
Baez (bā'-ās)
Bahama (bā-ă'-mā)
Bahia (bā-ē'-ă)
Balboa, de (bāl-bō'-ă) Vasco Núñez
(vās'-kō nōōn'-yēth)

Ballivian (bäl-lē-vē-ä'n)
 Balmaceda (bäl-mä-thä'-thä)
 Balsas, Rio de las (bäl-säs', rē'-ō dā lās)
 Barbosa (bär-bō'-zä)
 Barcelona (bär-thē-lō'-nä)
 Basque (bäsk)
 Bastidas (bäs-tē'-thäs)
 Bayonne (bä-yón')

Belgrano (bél-grä'-nō)
 Belize (bē-liz')

Belzu (bél'-thōō)
 Benalca'zar (bä-näl-kä'-thär)
 Berber (bür'bēr)
 Bio Bio (bē'-ō bē'-ō)
 Bobadilla, de (bō-vä-thēl'-yā)
 Bogotá, Santa Fe de (bō-gō-tä', sän'-tä fä dā)
 Bolívar (bō-lē'-vär), Simon
 Bolivia (Eng. bō-liv'-i-ä)
 Boulogne (bōō-lōn')

Boves (bō'-vēs)
 Boyacá (bō-yä-kä')
 Boylé (bōy-lä'), Bernardo
 Bravo, de (brä-vō), Melchar (mäl-char')

Brazil (brä-zēl')

Buenos Aires (bwä'-nōs i'-räs)
 Bulnes (bōól'-nēs), Manuel
 Bulas de vivos (bōō'-lās-dā vē-vōs)
 Bustamente (bōōs-tä-män'-tä)

C

Cabildos (cä-bīl'-dōs)
 Cabot (kăb'-ūt), Sebastian
 Cabral, de (dä kă-bräl'), Pedro
 Álvarez
 Cabrere (kă-brä'-rä).
 Cacique (kă-sē'k)
 Cádiz (Eng. kă'-diz; Sp. kă'-thēth)
 Calatrava (kă-lä-trä'-vā)
 Cajamarca (kă'-hä-mär'-kă)
 Callao (kă-lyä'-ō)
 Calleja (käl-yä'-hä)
 Calles, Plutarco (käl'-yēs)
 Cantabrians (kän-tä'-brī-äns)
 Capac, Huayna (kă'-pāk, wī'-nä)
 Cape de la Vela (dā lā vē'-lä)
 Carabobo (kă-rä-bō'-bō)
 Caracas (kă-rä'-käs)
 Caribs (kär'-ibs)
 Carranza (kă-rrän'-thä)
 Carrera (kă-rrē'-rä)
 Cartagena (kär-tä-jē'-nä; Sp. kär-tä-hä'-nä)
 Casa de Contratación (kă'-sä dā cōn-trä-tä-thī-ōng')

Castellanos (cäs-tēl-yä'-nōs), Juan
 de
 Castile (käs-tēl')

Castro (käs'trō), de Vaca (dā vä'-kă)
 Cauca (kau'-kä)
 Cauto (kou'-tō)
 Caxamarca, or Cajamarca (kă-hä-mär'-cä)
 Cabellos (thē-bēl'-yōs), Antonio de
 Celman (thäl'-män), Juarez (hwä'-räs)
 Cerón (thä'-rōn), Juan de
 Cerro de Pasco (thē'-rrō päs'-kō)
 Ceuta (thä'-ōō-tä)
 Chacabuco (chä-kä-bōō'-kō)
 Chagres (chä'-grēs)
 Chamorro (shä-mō'-rrō)
 Chapetón (chä-pä-tōn')

Charcas (chär'-cäs)
 Chibchas (chīb'-chäs)
 Chihuahua (chē-wä'-wä)
 Chile (chē'-lä)
 Cholula (chō-lōō'-lä)
 Cid (Eng. sīd; Sp. thēth) [vär]
 Ciudad Bolívar (thyōō-thäth' bō-lē-Coahuela (cō-ä-wē'-lä)
 Coligny (kō-lēn-yē'), Gaspard de, Admiral
 Colombia (kō-lōm'-bē-ä)
 Colón (kō-lōn')

Companero (cōm-pä-nä'-rō)
 Concepción (kōn-thēp-thyōn')

Conquistador (Eng. kōn-kwīs'-tä-dōr; Sp. kōn-kēs-tä-thōr').
 Consejo (cōn-sä'-hō)
 Coquimbo (kō-kēm'-bō)
 Cordillera (kōr-dī-lyē'-rä)
 Córdoba (kōr'-dō-vä), Hernández
 de
 Coro (kō'-rō)
 Corral (kōr-räl'), Ramón
 Corregidor (Eng. kō-rēj'-i-dōr; Sp. kō-rrä-hē-thōr')

Corregimiento (kō-rrä-hē-mē-än'-tō)
 Corrientes (kō-rrē-ēn'-tēs)
 Cortés (kōr-täs'), Hernando
 Cosa (kō'-sä), Juan de la
 Costa Rica (kōs'-tä rē'-kä)
 Cotopaxi (kō-tō-pä'-hē)
 Cozumel (kō-sōō-mēl')

Creole (krē'-ōl)
 Crespo (kräs'-pō)
 Croix (krwä'), Theodoro de
 Cruz (dā lā krōōth), Juana Inés
 de la

Cruzada (krōō-thāthā)
Cuba (kū'-bā)
Cura (kōō'-rá)
Cuyo (kōō'-yō)
Cuzco (kōōth'-kō)

D

Da Gama (dā gā'-mä)
Daza (dā'-thā), Hilarión (ē-lā-rē-on')
Darién (dā-rē-ēn')
De Medici (dā mē'-dē-chē)
De Soto (dā sō'-tō), Fernando
De Torre (dā tō'-rrā)
De Vaca (dā vā'kā), Cabeza (kā-bē'-thā)
Diaz (dē'āsh), Bartholomeu
Díaz del Castillo (dē'-āth dēl kās-tē-lyō), Bernal
Dominica (dōm-i-nē'-kā)
Douro (dō'-rōō)
Duarte (dwärt)

E

Ecuador (ē'-kwā-thōr)
El Dorado (ēl dō-rā'-thō)
El Mercurio (āl mār-kōō'-rē-ō)
Encomendaro (ēn-kō-mēn-dā'rō)
Encomienda (ēn-kō-mī-ēn'-dā)
Ensisco (ēn-sēs'-kō)
Entre Ríos (ēn'-trā rē'-ōs)
Ercilla y Zúñiga, de (ēr-thē'-lyā ē thōō'-nyē-gā, dā)
Eslava (ēs-lā'-bā), Sebastian de
Evora (ā'-vō-rā)

F

Ferdinand (fēr'-dī-nānd)
Flores (flō'-rās), Juana (hwā'-nā)
José
Fonseca, de (fōn-sā'-kā), Juan
Rodríguez (rō-drē'-gāth)
Francia (frān'-thē-ā), José Gaspar
Rodríguez
Frías (frī'ās), Manuel de

G

Gama (gā'-mä), Vasco da
Garay (gā-rī'), Juan de
García-Calderón (gār-thē-ā-kāl-dēr-ōn')
García-Moreno (mō-rē'-nō)
Geffrard (zhē-frā'r)
Genoa (jēn'-ō-ā)
Gobiernos (gō-bē-ē'r-nōs)
Gómez (gō-mās)
Gonzáles (gōn-thā'-lās)

Góngora, Diego de (gōn'-gō-rā)
Gonzalo (gōn-thā'-lō)
Gracias a Dios (grā'-thē-ās ā dyōs')
Granada (Eng. grā-nā'-dā; Sp. grā-nā'-thā)
Grijalva (dā grē-hāl'-vā), Juan de
Guadalaviar (gō-dāl-ā-vē'-ār)
Guadalajara (gwā-thā-lā-hā'-rā)
Guadalquivir (gō-dāl-kwīv'-ēr; Sp. gwā-thāl-kē-vēr')
Guadalupe Hidalgo (gwā-thā-lōō'-pā ē-thāl'-gō)
Guadelete (gwā-thā-lā'-te)
Gadiana (gwā'-thē-ānā)
Guanahuato (gwā-nā-wā'-tō)
Guatemala (gwā-tā-mā'-lā)
Guayaquil (gwī-yā-kēl')
Guerrero (gēr-rā'-rō)
Guiana (gē-ān'-ā)
Guinea (gīn'-ī)
Guicciardini (gwē-tchār-dē'-nē),
Francesco (fran-ches'-co)
Guzman-Blanco (gōōth-mān' blān'-kō)

H

Habana (hā-vā'-nā)
Haiti (hā'tī)
Hamilcar, Barca (hā-mīl'-kār bār'-kā)
Hannibal (hān'-ī-bāl)
Henequén (ā-nā-kān')
Heredia (ā-rā'-thē-ā), José María de
Herrera (ā-rrā'-rā)
Hidalgo, y Costilla (ē-thāl'-gō ē kōs-tē'-lyā), Miguel
Hispaniola (hīs-pān-yō'-lā)
Historia de las Indias Nueva
España (ēs-tōr'-ī-ā dā lās īn'-dē-ās nwā'-vā ēs-pān'-yā)
Honduras (hōn-dōō'-rās)
Huascar (wās'-kār)
Huerta (wēr'-tā)
Huguenots (hū'-gē-nōts)
Humboldt (Eng. hūm'-bōlt), Fried-
rich Heinrich Alexander von

I

Iberians (ī-bē'-rī-ān)
Iguala (ī-gwā'-lā)
Incas (īn'-kās)
Intendent (īn-tēn'-dēnt)
Iquique (ē-kē'-kā)
Irala (ī-rā'-lā)
Iturbide (dā ē-tōōr-bē'-thā), Agustín
de
Ixtacihuatl (ēs-tāk-sē'-hwätl)

J

Jalapa (hä-lä'-pä)
 Jamaica (jä-mä'-kä)
 Juárez (hwä'-rāth), Benito Pablo
 (bā-nē'-tō pä'-blō)
 Junín (hōō-nēn')
 Junta (hōōn'-tä)

K

Kalif (kā'-lif)

L

La Cosa (lä kö'-sä)
 La Nación (lä nä-thē-ōn')
 La Navidad (lä nä-vi-thāth')
 La Noche Triste (lä nō'-chā trēs'-
 tā)
 La Paz (lä päth)
 La Plata (lä plä'-tä)
 La Prensa (lä prān'-sä)
 Las Casas (läs kä'-sās), Bartolomé
 de (bār-tō-lō-mā)
 La Serna (lä sār'-nä)
 La Valle (vä'-lyā)
 León (lä-ōn')
 Lerdo de Tejada (lēr'-dō dā tā-
 hä'-thā)
 Leyva (läy'-vä), Andros Venero de
 (än'-drōs vā-nā'-rō)
 Libro de Tasas (lēb'rō thā täs'-ās)
 Lima (lē'mā)
 Liniers (lē-nē-ārs')
 Lisbon (līz'-būn)
 Llama (lyā'-mä)
 Lopez (lō'-päth), Carlos Antonio
 (kär'-lōs än-tō'-nyō), Francisco
 Solano
 Losada, Diego de (Lō-sā'-thā)
 Lugo, Ramón Barros (lú'-kō, rā-
 mō'n bār-rrōs)
 Lusitania (lū-sī-tā'-nī-ä)

M

Machado (mä-shā'-dōō)
 Madeira (mä-dā'-ē-rā)
 Madero (mä-thē'-rō)
 Magdalena (mäg-dā-lā'-nä)
 Magellan (mä-jél'-än), Fernando
 Maipo (mī'-pō)
 Malaga (mä'-lä-gā)
 Manco (män'-kō)
 Manaos (mä-nā'-ush)
 Manuel (män-ū-ēl'), Nuno
 Manila (mä-nē'-lä)
 Maracaibo (mä-rā-kī'-bō)
 Maraes (mä-rā'-ās)
 Maranhão (mä-rā-nyoun')

Margarite (mār-gä-rē'-tä)
 Mérida (mä-rē-thā)
 Mayas (mä'yās)
 Mayores (mä-yōr'-ās)
 Mendoza (mēn-dō'-thā), Antonio
 de Hurtado (ūr-tā'-thō)
 Men da Sa (mēn-dā-shā)
 Menocal (mä-nō-kāl')
 Mestizo (Eng. mēs-tē'-zō; Sp. mās-
 tē'-thō)
 Mexico (Eng. mēk'-sī-kō; Sp. mā'-
 hē-kō)
 Minas Geraes (mē'-nāsh zhā-rīsh')
 Minuano (mē-nwā'-no)
 Miramón (mē-rā-mōn'), Miguel
 Miranda (mē-rān'-dā), Francisco
 Mita (mē'-tä)
 Mitre (mē-trā)
 Monagas (mō-nā'-gās), José
 Monteverde (mōn-tā-vēr'-dā)
 Montevideo (Eng. mōn-tē-vīd'-ē-ō;
 Sp. mōn-tā-vē-thā'-ō)
 Montes (mōn'tās)
 Montezuma (Eng. mōn-tē-zōō'-mä)
 Montt (mōnt)
 Morelos-Pavón (mō-rā'-lōs-pā-vōn'),
 José María
 Morillo (mō-rē'-lyō)
 Mosquero (mōs-kē'-rō)

N

Nabuco (nä-bōō'-kō)
 Napo (nä'-pō)
 Narváez (nār-vā'-āth), Pánfilo de
 (pān'-fē-lō)
 Navarre (nä-vā'-rrā)
 Navas de Tolosa (nä'vās dā tō-lō'-
 sä)
 Nevado de Colima (nä-vā'-thō dā
 kō-lē'-mä)
 New Granada (Eng. grā-nā'-dā;
 Sp. nwā'-vā grā-nā'-thā)
 Nicaragua (nē-kā-rā'-gwā)
 Nicuesa (nē-kwā'-sä)
 Niña (nē-nyā)
 Nombre de Dios (nōm'-brā dā
 dyōs')
 Noticias Secretas de América (nō-
 tī'-thē-ās sā-krē-tās' dā ä-mā'-rē-
 kā)
 Nuñez (nōō'-nyēth), Rafael
 Nuño (nōō'-nyō), Manuel

O

Oaxaca (wā-lā'-kā)
 Obregón (ōb-rā-gōn')
 Ocampo (ō-kām'-pō)

O'Donoju (ō-dō-nō-hōō')
 O'Higgins (Sp. ō-ē'gēns), Bernardo
 Ojeda (ō-hā'-thā)
 Olid, de (ō-lith'), Cristóbal
 Ordonanzas de la Minería de Nueva
 España (ōr-dō-nān'-thās dā lā
 mī-nā-rē'-ā dā nwā'vā ē-spān'-yā)
 Orinoco (ō-ri-nō'-kō)
 Oroya (ō-rō'-yā)
 Oruro (ō-rōō'-rō)
 Orzaba (ōr-thā'-bā)
 Ovando (ō-vān'-dō), Nicolás de
 (nē-kō-lās')

P

Paez (pā'-āth), José Antonio
 Palma (pāl'mā), Tomás Estrada
 (ēs-trā'-thā)
 Palos (pā'-lōs)
 Pampas (pān'-pās)
 Panamá (pā-nā-mā')
 Pará (pā-rā')
 Paraguay (pā-rā-gwī')
 Paraná (pā-rā-nā')
 Paredes (pā-rā'-thās)
 Partidos (pār-tē'-thōs)
 Patos, Los (lōs pā'-tōs)
 Paya (pā'-yā)
 Pedrarias Dávila (pā-drā'-rē-ās dā'-
 vā-lā)
 Pedro (pē'-drō)
 Pensacola (pēn-sā-kō'-lā)
 Pérez (pē'-rāth)
 Pernambuco (pēr-nām-bōō'-kō)
 Pesos de oro (pā'-sōs dā ō'-rō)
 Pezuela (pē-thwē'-lā)
 Pichincha (pē-chēn'-chā)
 Pierola (pyā-rō'lā)
 Pilcomayo (pēl-kō-mā'-yō)
 Pinta (pēn'-tā)
 Pinzon (pēn-thōn'), Martín Alonso,
 Vicente Yáñez
 Pizarro (Eng. pī-zār'-rō; Sp. pē-thā-
 rrō), Francisco
 Pombal (pōm-bāl'), Marquis de
 Ponce de León (pōn'-thā dā lā-ōn'),
 Juan
 Popocatepetl (pō-pō-kā-tā'-pēt'l)
 Portales (pōr-tāl'-ās), Diego
 Porto Bello (pōr'-tō bā'-lyō)
 Potosí (pō-tō-sē')
 Prieto (prē-ā'-tō)
 Pueblo de Indios (pwēb'-lō dā in-
 dē-ōs)
 Puerto Cabello (pwēr'-tō kā-bēl'-
 yō)
 Puerto Príncipe (prēn'-thē-pū)

Q

Querétaro (kā-rā'-tā-rō)
 Quesada (kā-sā'-thā)
 Quetzalcoatl (kāt-thāl-kō'-āt'l)
 Quichuas (kē'-chwās)
 Quito (kē'-tō)

R

Ramón Corral (rā-mōn'-kōr-rāl')
 Ramalho, João (rā-māl'-u)
 Riesco (rē-ās'-kō)
 Reccared (rē-kār'-ēd)
 Real (rē'-āl)
 Recopilacion de leyes de los Reynos
 de las Indias (rā-kō-pā-lā-thē-ōn'
 dā lāy'-ās dā lōs rāy-nōs' dā lās
 ēn-dē-ās')
 Regidor (rē-hē-th'ōr)
 Repartimientos (rū-pār-tē-myēn'-
 tōs)
 Residencia (rā-sē-dēn'-thyā)
 Revillagigedo (rā-vē-lyā-gi-gā'-thō)
 Reyes (rā'-yās), Rafael
 Río de Janeiro (rē'-ō dā zhā-nā'-rō)
 Río Grande do Sul (rō'-ō grān'-dē
 dōō sōōl)
 Rivadavia (rī-bā-dā-bē'-ā), Bernar-
 do
 Roca (rō'-kā), Julio
 Rocafuerte (rō-kā-fwēr'-tā)
 Roderick (rōd'-ēr-ik)
 Rojas Paul (rō'-hās)
 Rojas Ricardo (rē-kār'-thō)
 Romaña (rō-mān'-yā)
 Rosario (rō-sā'-rē-ō)
 Rossas (rō'-sās), Juan Manuel de
 Rousseau (rōō-sō')

S

Saavedra (sā-ā-vā-thrū), Antonio de
 Sacasa (sā-kā'-sā)
 Sagres (sā'-grēsh)
 Saint Dié (san dyā')
 Salta (sāl'-tā)
 Salto (sāl'-tō)
 Salvador (sāl-vā-thōr')
 San Antonio (sān ān-tōn'-yō)
 San Carlos (sān kār-lōs')
 San Espiritu (sān ēs-pē-rē-tōō)
 San Fernando (sān fēr-nān'-dō)
 San Francisco (sān frān-thēs'-kō)
 San Gabriel (sān gāb-rē-āl')
 Sanfuentes (sān-fōō-ān'-tās)
 Sangai (sān-gī')
 San Juan de Ulloa (sān hwān dā
 ūl-lō-ā)
 de Saavedra (sān-lōō'-
 rā-dā-thā)

San Luis Potosí (sän lōō-ēs' pō-tō-sē')

San Martín, de (sän mār-tēn'), José

San Miguel, de (sän mē-gēl')

San Sebastián (sän sē-bās-tyān')

Santa Ara (sän'-tā ā-nā), Antonio

López (än-tōn'-yō lō'-pāth)

Santa Cruz (sän'-tā krōōth)

Santa Espiritu (ē-spīr'-rē-tōō)

Santa Marta (mār'-tā)

Santander (sän-tān-dēr'), Francisco de Paula

Santiago (sän-tē-ā'-gō,

Santo Domingo (sän'-tō dō-mīn'-gō)

Santos (sän'-tōōsh)

São Paulo (soun pou'-lōō)

São Roque (sän-rō'-kā)

São Salvador (säl-vā-dōr')

São Vicente (vō-sēn'-tē)

Seville (Eng. sē-vīl'; Sp. sē-vēl'-yā)

Sierra Madre (sī-ēr'-ā mā'-drā)

Solís, de (sō-lēs'), Juan Diaz

Sorata (sō-rā'-tā)

Soulouque (sōō-lōōk')

Sousa, de (sōō'-zā), Martim

Sucre (sōō'-krā), Antonio José de

Sultepec (sōōl-tā'-pēk)

T

Taboada, de (tā-bō-ā'-thā), Admiral

Tacna (tāk'-nā)

Tagus (tā'-gūs)

Tampico (tām-pē'-kō)

Tarraconensis (tār-rā-kō-nēn'-sis)

Tarrapaca (tā-rā-pā-kā')

Taxco (tāx'-kō)

Tejada (tē-hā'thā), Lerdo de (lēr'-thō)

Tepenacs (tē-pē-nāks')

Terraza Hacienda (tē-rā'-thā ā-thē-ān'-dā)

Tierras Calientes (tyē'-rrās kälē-ān'-tēs)

Tinta (tēn'-tā)

Titicaca (tī-tē-kā'-kā)

Tlacopan (tlā-kō-pān')

Tlaxcala (tlās-kā'-lā)

Toeuyo (tō-kōō'-yō)

Toledo (Eng. tō-lē'-dō; Sp. tō-lā'-thō)

Tolosa (tō-lō'-sā), Pérez de (pā'-rēth)

Toltec (tōl-tēk')

Totonacs (tō-tō-nāks')

Trinidad (trē-nē-thāth')

Trujillo (trōō-hēl'-yā)

Tucumán (tōō-kōō-tūān')

Tunguragua (tōōn-gōō-rā'-gwā)

Tupac, Amaru (tōō'-pāk ām-ār'-ōō)

U

Ugarte (ōō-gār'-tā)

Uraba (ōō-rā'-bā)

Urbina (ōōr-bē'-nā)

Urquiza (ōōr-kē'-thā, Justo José

Uruguay (ō-rō-gwī')

Uspallata (ōōs-pāl-yā'-tā)

Utrecht (ū'-trēkt)

V

Vaca de (vā'-kā)

Valencia (Eng. vā-lēn'-shi-ā; Sp. vā-lēn-thē'-ā)

Valdivia (vāl-dē'-vyā)

Valparaíso (Eng. vāl-pā-rā'zō; Sp. vāl-pā-rā-ē'-sō)

Valverde (vāl-vēr'-dā)

Vela, de la (vā'-lā)

Velasco (vā-lās'-kō), Luis de

Velásquez (vā-lās'-kāth), Diego

Venero de Leyva (vā-nē-rō dā lā'-yvā), Andres

Venezuela (Eng. vēn-ē-zwē'-lā; Sp. vā-nā'-thwā-lā)

Vera Cruz (vā'-rā krōōth)

Veragua (vā-rā'-gwā)

Verde (vūr-dē')

Vespucci (vēs-pū'-chē), Amerigo

Villa (vēl'-yā)

Villegaignon (vēl-gā-nyōn'), Nicolas Durand

Volcán de Colima (vōl-kān' dā kō-lē-mā)

W

Waldseemüller (vāl'-zā-mē-lēr), Martin

Weyler, y Nicolau (vā-lēr' ē nē-kō-lā'-ōō)

X

Ximenes (Eng. zī-mē-nēs'; Sp. hē-mā'-nās)

Y

Yaqui (yā'-kō)

Yucatán (yōō-kā-tān')

Z

Zacatecas (thā-kā-tā'-kās)

Zambo (thām'-bō)

Zarata (thā-rā'-tā)

Zayas (thā'-yās)

Zelaya (thā-lā'-yā), José Santos

Zúñiga, Ercilla y (thōōn'-yē-gā, ēr-thēl'-yā ē)

Zúñiga (sōō-lō-ā'-gā)

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